

**A STUDY OF TEMPLES OF MEDIEVAL
MAHARASHTRA
(11TH TO 14TH CENTURIES CE)
A SOCIO-ECONOMIC APPROACH**



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KANNADA TERMS

Mane-vergade: chamberlain

Bhanasa-vergade: steward, *bhanasa* literally means kitchen

Sunka-vergade: Tax collector

Siddhaya: land tax

Pannaya: income from merchandise, including octroi duty

Pergade: clerk (probably)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 TEMPLES IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

Temple emerged as a significant and influential institution in medieval India, patronised by almost all classes of the society. The temples were endowed with villages, plots of land, gardens, oil-mills, cash donations, various commodities such as vessels, bells, ornaments, animals, grains, spices and innumerable other items. Most large temples functioned through a vast staff of different levels ranging from a fleet of priests to musicians, dancers, *devadasis*, guards, gardeners, jewelers, cultivators, cooks and supporting staff engaged in menial work. The rituals were elaborate and complex. The temples also maintained feeding houses or *satthras*, where a large number of Brahmanas were fed daily, while an educational institute was also attached to it, training students in various disciplines of religious study. Thus, apart from the temple, there were usually a number of other buildings around it such as residential quarters, storehouses and granaries and generally a market grew around it. Very often, the temples had complete judicial, administrative and economic control over a large number of villages that were donated to them, many times in far-flung areas. In this way, temple evolved into a land-owning rich organization that carried out the multiple functions of a religious place, educational institution and also occupation-generating economic institution. With the elaboration of temple-activities, the temples appear to have formed the central-loci of the society in medieval India, though we may have overemphasized its role because of such overwhelming amount of temple-related data available.

1.2 PRESENT STUDY

The evolution of temple into such an important institution pose many interesting queries such as socio-economic-religious background of the rise of temples, nature of patronage and general function of the temple in contemporary society. A number of such analytical studies have been carried out in many parts of the country, especially in south India, mainly because of the availability of vast and elaborate epigraphic material. These works (Stein 1960, Ismail 1984, Suryakumari 1988, Heitzman 1991, Singh 1993, Willis 1993, Talbot 2001, Hegde 2006), while tracing the emergence and development of temples

and their position in the contemporary society, address some complex issues of patronage, use of temples for legitimating the power by the ruling class and economic trajectories operating to and from these temples. These studies pertain to present day states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. But not many such studies have been carried out in other parts of the country, the reason being the paucity of data on such issues.

This work aims to address some of these problems in the case of temples from Maharashtra, primarily with the help of epigraphic material, which comprises of around 255 inscriptions recording construction of temples and/or grants to these temples. Understanding the socio-economic-religious background of the rise of temples, evolution of temple institution, nature of patronage as well as nature and terms of endowments, functioning of temples and religious trends of the contemporary society, are some of the primary aims of this study. The temples and temple grants are also used for a better understanding of the medieval society in this part of the country. While most temples and the temple grants belong to the period of 11th to 14th century CE, all the available temple-related inscriptions, starting from the earliest reference to temple in 4th century CE, are taken into consideration here for understanding the emergence and evolution of temple institution. The spatial-temporal distribution of these temple grants have thrown up a few interesting questions about the nature of medieval polity, political geography and role of some of the sub-regions in the contemporary society. In order to address these complex issues, temple grants have been used as basic source, supplemented by literary sources and local climatic conditions. With temples as background, it has been attempted to understand the evolution of Maharashtra as a regional entity.

1.3 TEMPLES IN MAHARASHTRA

The hilly region of the state has been dominated by the tradition of rock-cut architecture as exemplified by a large number of Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina caves scattered over the region. The structural temples make appearance during Vakataka period in 5th century CE. Barring a few temples at Ramtek, Mandhal and Nagra in Nagpur district and some temples at Ter in Osmanabad district, all datable to the period between 5th to 7th centuries CE, the structural temple architecture does not become a regular tradition in Maharashtra as in most parts of the country. It is only in the 11th century CE that first, full-fledged, securely dated temple appears at Ambarnath. From this time onwards, the temple-

building activity received momentum leading to the emergence of a large number of temples in all parts of Maharashtra. The Shiva temple at Ambarnath in Thane district, Gondeshvar Mahadeva temple at Sinnar in Nasik district, temple at Anwa in Auragabad district, Koppeshvar temple at Khidrapur in Kolhapur district, Daitya Sudan temple at Lonar in Buldana district are some of the finest temples of the period, built in Bhumija style of temple architecture. While the early temples of 11th-12th century CE are elaborate, ornamental, fine structures, the later temples of 13th-14th century CE are plain, sparsely ornamented monuments. The temples of Maharashtra have been documented in details, highlighting architectural features and chronological framework. The pioneering work is of Henry Cousens, which deals with major temples in various parts of Maharashtra, providing elaborate and detailed ground plans as well as line drawing of architectural components and a tentative chronology (Cousens 1931). A. V. Naik, while incorporating many more temples, has provided a systematic classification (Naik 1947). G. V. Deglurkar's work remains the standard study dealing with chronology and architectural, iconographic as well as stylistic features of temples, apart from listing a large number of smaller temples in various parts of Maharashtra (Deglurkar 1974). More recently, A. P. Jamkhedkar's work in the state gazetteer, has attempted more analytical approach, answering a few critical issues about the temple architecture in Maharashtra (Jamkhedkar 2002). Other major works (Deo, S. B. 1973, Deo, P. 1993, Shahpurkar 2002) focus on a group of temples at one site or clustered in an area.

1.4 THE REGION

The modern state of Maharashtra extending between 22.1 and 16.4 degrees north latitude and 72.6 and 80.9 degrees east longitude, with an area of 3,07,713 sq km is by and large a plateau. It is bounded by the Arabian Sea in the west, Gujarat in the northwest, Madhya Pradesh in the north, Chhattisgarh in the northeast, Andhra Pradesh in the southeast, and Karnataka and Goa in the south. The most important physiographic landmark is the Sahyadri mountain range that run north-south dividing Maharashtra into two distinct units, the Konkan, coastal lowland on the west and the Plateau or 'Desh' on the east. The Sahyadri mountain chain or Western Ghats, which extends beyond the border of Maharashtra into Karnataka, exhibits contrast relief features on the western and eastern flanks. While the western flank has scarps with steep cliff faces, the eastern flank is gentler with rounded features and subdued slope (Deshpande C. D. 1971, p. 16). Konkan is a narrow coastal strip

with the distance of 500 km north to south and varying in width from 80 km in the north to 40 km in the south (Deshpande 1971 C. D., p. 162). Northern Konkan or much of Thane and Raigarh districts is relatively flat with occasional hillocks, while the area 100 km south of Mumbai has more rugged topography and is marked by general rise in the height (Dikshit K. R. 1986, p. 21). Vaitarna, Ulhas, Savitri, Vashisthi, Amba, Kundalika and Shahstri are the main rivers of the Konkan (Deshpande C. D. 1971, p. 24). The Plateau or what is locally known as 'Desh', nearly nine-tenths of the area of the State, extends to the distance of 700 km to the east of the Sahyadris (Dikshit K. R. 1986, p. 24). With its rim on the west, the Plateau has a slight tilt eastwards and southeastwards. In the west the average height is about 900 m above the sea level, the central portion is by and large between 300 m and 400 m high, while the average elevation is less than 300 m in the eastern parts (Deshpande C. D. 1971, pp. 15-16). The Satpuda hills occupy the northern margins of the state. Originating from the Sahyadri and running west-northwest to east-southeast into the plains are hill ranges of Satmala-Ajanta, the Balaghat and the Mahadev. They rise to about 200 m to 300 m above the local base level. They generally show scarp faces on the northern flanks, while sloping gently to the plateau on the southern face (Figure 1).

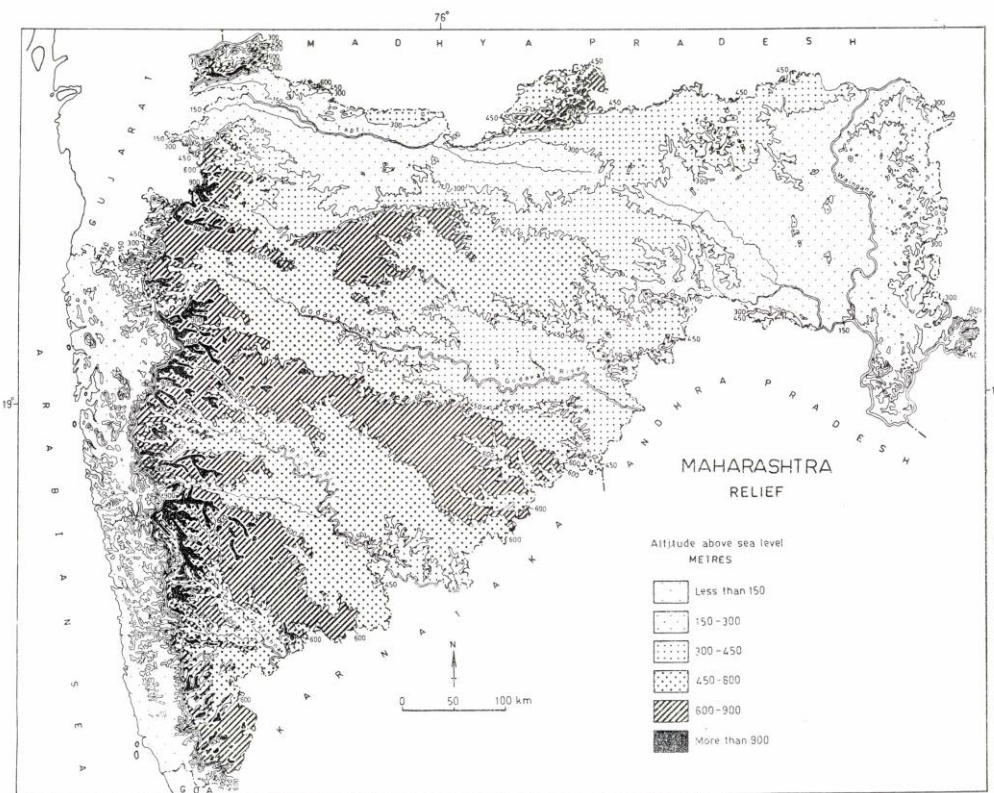


Figure 1: Physical Features of Maharashtra
(after K. R. Dikshit 1986)

These hill ranges form water-divides between the major rivers of the Plateau, Tapi, Godavari, Bhima and Krishna (Deshpande C. D. 1971, p. 17). Thus, the Plateau can be divided into smaller plateaus and river valley plains. From north to south are placed the Satpuda range, the Tapi valley, the Ajanta range, the Godavari valley, the Harischandragadh-Ahmadnagar-Manjra plateau (Balaghat plateau), the Bhima basin, the Mahadev range and Khanapur plateau and the Krishna river basin (Dikshit K. R. 1986, p. 24). Except Tapi, all the rivers have their sources in the main Sahyadri range and run an easterly course to the Bay of Bengal. On the other hand, Tapi drains into the Arabian Sea. Godavari is the main river of Maharashtra with the largest drainage area. The eastern part of the state is watered by the Wardha and the Wainganga rivers (Figure 2).

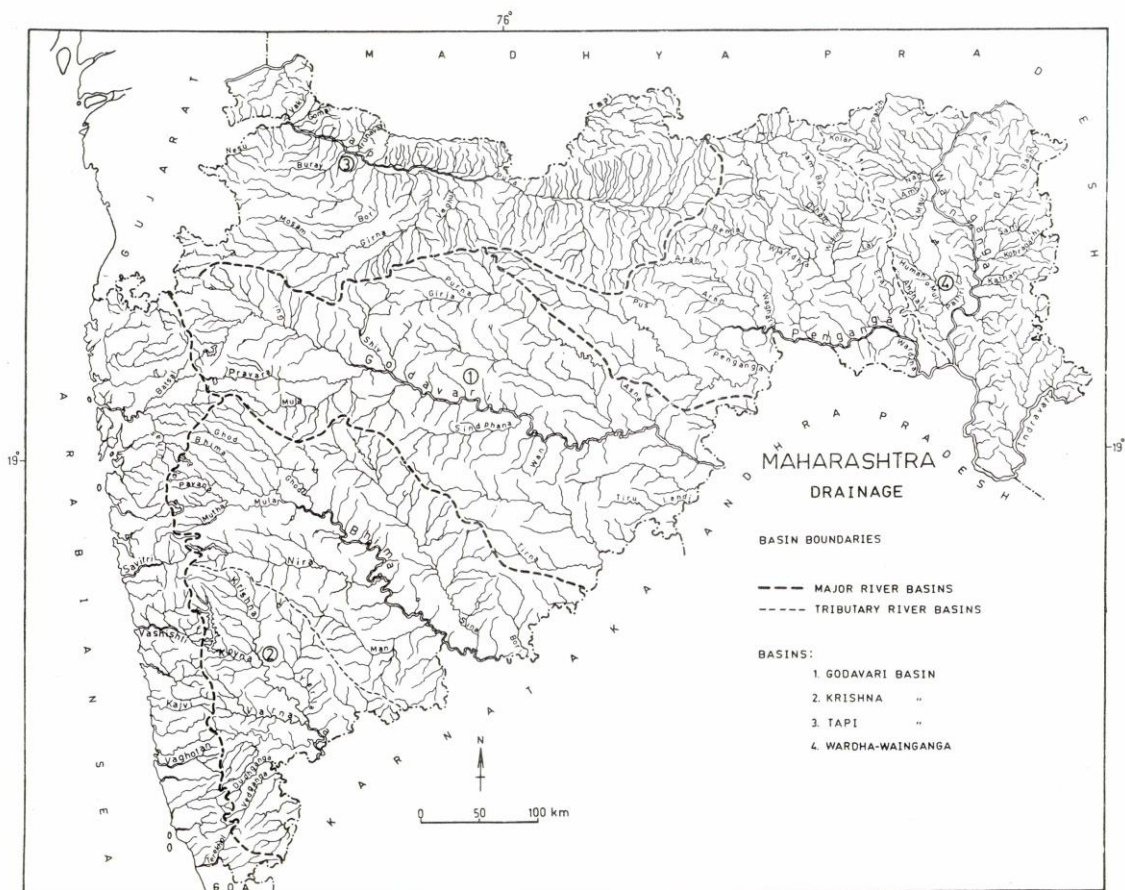


Figure 2: Rivers of Maharashtra

(after K. R. Dikshit 1986)

The major part of Maharashtra is underlain by rocks of volcanic origin, basalt or what is known as Deccan Trap. However, eastern Vidarbha and southeastern fringes of

Marathwada are marked by gneisses, granite, quartzite, limestone and associated formations, while the southwestern parts in the Ratnagiri-Sindhudurg districts have a complex formation of igneous and highly metamorphosed rocks (Deshpande C. D. 1971, pp. 14, 22).

The Godavari basin, occupying roughly half the area of the State, has a number of subsidiary basins of its tributaries such as Pravara, Mula, Manjra and Wardha-Wainganga. The river traverses the dry core of Maharashtra, where the frequent droughts and poor agriculture have traditionally deterred people to harness it. The Pravara and Mula rivers have the advantage of heavy rains in their source region and therefore these basins are agriculturally most developed. The Krishna river with its tributary Bhima is next important river. The Krishna basin accumulates huge amount of sedimentation from all its tributaries coming from Western Ghats and thus is one of the most productive areas of the State, though the eastern part of Bhima basin is semi-arid with some of the driest parts, regularly hit by droughts.

The distribution of rainfall varies from 450 mm in the driest part to over 6000 mm in the hilly areas of Western Ghats. With the exception of Konkan, the Sahyadris and eastern Wardha-Wainganga basin, most parts receive less than 1000 mm rain. The more mature black soil of the alluvial Tapti trough extends across the Amaravati height of land, but elsewhere it is found mainly in the large valley-bottoms. Most of the soil is medium regur and the higher ground carries immature regur or red soils. The large area of Maharashtra is thus non-alluvial land with limited rainfall and semi-arid conditions. The topography, rainfall and the distribution of the soils do not coincide ideally and thus Maharashtra is agriculturally not a very rich region without irrigation. South Konkan is agriculturally unproductive due to lateritic soils, small river basins and high temperatures, although it receives high rainfall. The thin soils on its plateau and slopes are suitable only for inferior millets. The black cotton soils, which occupy the largest area in Maharashtra, occur in dry tracts with scanty rainfall and semi-arid conditions. This is the land of *jawar* and cotton, while *bajra* replaces *jawar* in the higher ground and thinner soils. No region of this size in India has so little rice with major emphasis on millets and cash crops (Spate 1954, pp. 644-655)

The river valleys of Krishna, Nira, Pravara and Upper Godavari plains possess conducive conditions with better soils and sufficient rainfall and thus have supported large population. On the other hand, the dry plateaus in central Maharashtra with inferior soils and unreliable, scanty rainfall have traditionally supported limited population. The eastern extremity of the state in the districts of Chandrapur, Gondia and Garhchiroli is covered with forests.

Maharashtra as a 'region'

The selection of Maharashtra as a study area with its modern administrative boundaries needs some explanation. Though the modern boundaries of the state date back only to 1960, Maharashtra as a regional entity has existed from ancient times. However, the boundaries were not very definite and did not exactly correspond to the modern area of the state. In 1st century CE, Vararuchi mentions 'Maharashtri' as one of the Prakrits and so it can be presumed that a region called Maharashtra, with Maharashtri Prakrit as language, must have existed during this time (Panse 1960, p. 52). The earliest literary reference to Maharashtra is in the Buddhist texts *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa* (Thosar 2004, p. 2), while the earliest epigraphic reference occurs in an inscription of 365 CE from Eran in Madhya Pradesh (Panse 1960, p. 53). The famous Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, dated to 635 CE mentions that Pulakesin conquered 'three Maharashtrakas consisting of ninety nine thousand villages'. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang refers to Pulakesin as the king of Maharashtra. From Maharashtra itself, the earliest reference to the term is in a 9th century CE inscription from Mehun in Jalgaon district, but here it occurs as a personal name and not as a geographical region. The references of Maharashtra as a geographic area start occurring in the inscriptions from 12th century onwards (Thosar 2004, p. 2). However, the boundaries of what was known as 'Maharashtra' are not very clear. In ancient times it covered much less area than the modern territory. It is said to have consisted of the region watered by the upper Godavari and the region lying between that river and the Krishna as distinguished from Aparanta (northern Konkan), Vidarbha and valleys of the Tapi and Narmada rivers (Bhandarkar 1928, pp. 2-3). In the *Puranas*, *janapadas* like Vidarbha, Bhogavardhana, Mulaka, Ashmaka, Surparaka, Nasikya and part of the Krishna Valley are distinguished from Maharashtra (Raychaudhuri 1960, p. 36). During the times of Chalukyas of Badami, Aparanta or northern Konkan was a separate region from Maharashtra (Raychaudhuri 1960, p. 38). From the accounts of Yuan Tsang (7th century CE) and Rajashekhar (around 900 CE), it appears that Vidarbha was

distinguished from Maharashtra (Panse 1960, pp. 55-56). In fact, Konkan and Vidarbha have always been distinct units. Maharashtra with more or less present boundaries emerged during the Yadava period, when it included both the Godavari valley and Vidarbha as is evident from the Mahanubhava literature (Feldhaus 1986, p. 539). During this period Maharashtra emerged as 'Maharashtra' with distinct regional identity, mainly due to the development of the Marathi language (Panse 1963, pp. 212-213) and the efforts of saints like Chakradhara Swami (Feldhaus 1986). Thus, Maharashtra as understood today has evolved over a long period of time.

A region has been defined as "a perceived segment of the time-space continuum differentiated from others on the basis of one or more defining characteristics" (Schwartzberg 1967, p. 93). These defining characteristics can be natural, political, economic, or cultural. The regions are 'naively given', 'instituted' or 'denoted'. The naively given region is the one which is recognized as a meaningful territorial entity by the people who live there, the instituted region is the one that is instituted by human agency as distinctive and discrete unit limiting the extent of operation of certain functions, while the denoted region is the one that is purposefully delimited by scholars and others concerned with particular problems (Schwartzberg 1967, pp. 89-90). The regions are also classified as historical, linguistic, cultural and structural, sharing concerned homogenous traits. The historical region shares a common historical tradition, linguistic region shares a common language, a cultural region is marked by homogenous cultural features such as myths, symbols, beliefs, dress, ornaments and other such material culture, while the structural region shares important social institutions. Very often, these types overlap and a region is of more than one type at a given time (Cohn 1967). What sort of region is Maharashtra? Is it a physical, linguistic, cultural or historical region? In fact, it has been a bit of all. The extent of Marathi language matches strikingly with the lava-generated basalt region and thus is a region of extraordinary physical homogeneity (Spate 1954). However, during 11th-12th centuries CE, Sangli, Kolhapur, Solapur districts at the southern boundary and Nanded, Bid, Osmanabad districts at the southeastern boundary of Maharashtra were the Kannada-dominant areas as indicated by most of the inscriptions under study that have furnished from these areas, which are in Kannada script and language. By mid 12th century CE, Marathi appears in these areas, though Kannada remains an important language. In fact, Nanded, which now borders Andhra Pradesh, had a strong Kannada tradition as most inscriptions from

this area are in Kannada. Kannada was an important language in Solapur, Sangli and Kolhapur districts, which have been sort of transit areas between Maharashtra and Karnataka and continue to remain so. Barring these areas, in other parts of Maharashtra, including Konkan and Vidarbha, Marathi replaced Sanskrit.

This work is limited to the present boundaries of Maharashtra, even though perhaps the definite boundaries of the region may not have been exactly same during the period under study as today (Figure 3).



Figure 3: Administrative Boundaries of Maharashtra

The reasons for considering modern boundaries are manifold. Since it is difficult to arrive at any conclusive inference by looking at a macro-region, mainly because of limited data available, it was considered more appropriate to take into account the wider region. For deriving any statistical analysis, it is necessary to limit the study to fixed boundary and

present administrative boundaries are useful for such a purpose. Moreover, during the period under study, Maharashtra was emerging as a distinct unit with the development of Marathi language and uniform cultural traits. Another reason for considering these boundaries was our interest in understanding the role of various sub-regions over a period and emergence of Maharashtra as it is today. Do different river basins and areas with variations in soil types; altitude and rainfall patterns have major differences in their historical traditions? When and how these pockets were settled and/or Brahmanised or brought into mainstream Brahmanical society? These were some of the problems, which were kept in view while selecting Maharashtra as a study area.

1.5 POLITICAL TRADITION

Maharashtra is one of the regions in the country, which has had a persistent historical tradition, at least from 3rd century BCE. It is generally believed that the region was penetrated by the Brahmanical culture around 7th century BCE (Bhandarkar 1928, p. 16) with sage Agastya said to be the first one to cross the Vindhya. It is debatable whether the rules of Nandas, Mauryas and Sungas extended to Maharashtra, though one of Ashoka's edicts has been found from Sopara in Thane district. The picture at the dawn of history is hazy in this part of the country as in most parts. The definite history of the region begins with the Satavahanas, the first local rulers of the region, who controlled Maharashtra and northern Karnataka with Paithan as the capital. The date and chronology of the Satavahanas has been the most controversial issue among the historians, though the most accepted duration of their rule is 2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE. After the fall of the mighty Satavahana Empire, several small kingdoms appeared in different parts, the important ones being the Abhiras, ruling in north Maharashtra and northern Konkan and Shriparvatiyas or the Ikshvakus, controlling the districts around the mouth of the Krishna and Godavari (Mirashi 1963, p. xvii, Sircar 1990, p. 221). Though the Vakatakas are not mentioned by the Puranas among the dynasties that rose to power after the Satavahanas, the archaeological evidence suggest that it was an important dynasty, which became very prominent in the post-Satavahana period, ruling in Vidarbha and parts of Madhya Pradesh during around 250 CE to 500 CE (Mirashi 1963, p. vi). After the fall of the Vakataka Empire, a few small dynasties came to prominence in different parts of Maharashtra. During the period of 5th to the second half of the 6th century CE, Traikutakas came to power in northern Maharashtra and northern Konkan. They were

originally subordinates of Abhiras and acquired their territories from them (Sircar 1988, pp. 192-193). In the second half of 6th century CE, the Kalachuris became powerful in northern Maharashtra, Gujarat and parts of Malwa. However, they were driven away from Maharashtra by the Chalukyas of Badami (Sircar 1988, p. 194). An early Rashtrakuta family is known to have ruled in the southern parts with Man in the Satara district as the capital. It is not clear whether they were subdued by the Chalukyas of Badami or some other family (Sircar 1988, pp. 200-201). The Chalukyas, who came to power after the Vakatakas, became important in the service of the later Satavahanas and their successors. They rose to prominence under Pulakesin I around 543 CE and ruled for about two centuries, except for a short interval of about fifteen years, from their capital at Badami in Karnataka. During this period, they established two semi-independent kingdoms, one in Gujarat and the other in Vengi. These kingdoms, eventually, turned into two branches of the family, which sustained the empire in their respective domains much after the main branch disappeared. The Chalukyas were followed by the Rashtrakutas. Though some early rulers of the dynasty are known to have flourished, mainly as the district officers under the Chalukyas (Altekar 1960, p. 250) between circa 570 to 630 CE, the family rose to power in circa 735 CE. They originally belonged to Lattalura, modern Latur. In around circa 640 CE, they carved out a small principality in Vidarbha with Achalapur or modern Elichpur as the capital. They rose to prominence under Dantidurga and ruled over a large empire extending over southern Gujarat, whole of Maharashtra, Karnataka and part of Andhra Pradesh for about 225 years, till 973 CE. When Karnataka country was annexed to their empire in around 760 CE, the capital was shifted to Malkhed (Altekar 1960, p. 250). The Rashtrakutas were followed by Chalukyas, who claimed descent from the main line of the Chalukyas of Badami. The early rulers of the family were ruling as the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas in the Bijapur area. In 973-74 CE, Taila II overthrew the last Rashtrakuta king Karka II and established independent dynasty with Kalyani as the capital seat. The dynasty ruled most of Maharashtra and Karnataka for about three centuries till about 1260-61 CE with a gap of about twenty-five years between 1162 to 1184 CE, when the Kalachuris under Bijjala gained power. The Kalachuris of the Kalyani appear to have been the offshoot of the Kalachuris, who ruled over Chedi, the area around Jabalpur (Bhandarkar 1928, p. 160). Soon after Bijjala took power, a religious revolution took place at Kalyani under the Lingayat leader Basava and Bijjala and his family were wiped out. After the empire of Chalukyas of Kalyani disintegrated, the Yadavas rose to power in the northern parts of the Chalukyan empire, i. e. in Maharashtra, while the Hoysalas became powerful in the southern half of the empire, i. e. Karnataka region. Though the

Yadavas came to prominence during the late 12th century CE, the history of the family goes back to the end of the 9th century, when they ruled as the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas initially and then of the Chalukyas. During this period they ruled in the Nasik region of Maharashtra or what was known as Seunadesh. Not much information is available about the early rulers of the dynasty. But it is generally believed that Drdhaprahara was the first ruler, with the capital at Chandradityapura or Chandor in Nasik district in 860 CE. The important ruler of this early period was Seunachandra I, successor of Drdhaprahara, who ruled from around 880 to 900 CE. He shifted his capital to Sinnar, also in Nasik district. During the rule of the next few kings, till about 1175 CE, the family slowly rose to power. Bhillama V claimed the imperial status in around 1187 CE and established his capital at Devagiri or present Daulatabad in Aurangabad district. He carved out a principality in north Konkan and central Maharashtra. From this date till the time of Ramachandra (1271-1311 CE) the Yadavas were most powerful rulers in the region with a vast empire.

Apart from these, there were many minor families, ruling as the feudatories of one or the other above-mentioned powerful dynasties in different areas of the region. Of these, the Shilaharas were an important family. Though as many as ten families of the Shilaharas are known to have ruled in Maharashtra and Karnataka, three families were prominent (Mirashi 1977, p. i). 1) Shilaharas of Konkan (around 800-1260 CE), ruling in the modern districts of Thane and Raigarh. 2) Shilaharas of south Konkan (around 765-1010 CE), ruling in Goa, former Savantavadi and Ratnagiri district. 3) Shilaharas of Kolhapur (around 940-1205 CE), ruling in the modern districts of Kolhapur, Satara and Sangli in Maharashtra and Belgaum in Karnataka (Mirashi 1977, p. i). These families were feudatories of Rashtrakutas. The first two families were subdued by the Chalukyas of Kalyani, while the third family had more distinguished career (Majumdar 1957, p. 184). The chiefs of this family ruled as independent or semi-independent rulers after the fall of the Rashtrakuta Empire and were defeated by the Yadava ruler Singhana (1200 CE to 1247 CE). Some of the families that ruled in Khandesh in northern Maharashtra were Kumbhakarna family in 4th century CE, Nikumbha and Sendraka families during 5th to 7th century CE and Nikumbha family during 12th-13th century CE. Although the definite nature of polity is not very clear, it appears that these families ruled as feudatories of contemporary ruling dynasties, probably quite independently in some cases.

The Yadavas were defeated by Ala-ud-Din Khalji and the Yadava power came to an end in 1318 CE. With the defeat of Ramachandra Yadava at the hands of Ala-ud-Din Khalji began a new era in the history of the Deccan. For three hundred and odd years, till the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji, the entire Deccan region to the north of Tungabhadra, remained under the rule of Muslim Sultans.

An important feature of the political history of the region is that among the prominent dynasties that ruled in this area during medieval period, all except the Yadavas and probably the Rashtrakutas in their early career, had their capital or centre of power outside Maharashtra, in north Karnataka, the area that was more like a buffer between Maharashtra and Karnataka with fluid boundary and mixed culture. Other minor families that had their seats of power within Maharashtra were local families with limited sphere of influence and possibly ruled in feudatory capacity.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

Before proceeding further, it is important to enumerate the methodology used in this work and the manner in which some of the statistics are arrived at.

A corpus of 255 temple-related inscriptions is available from this region. A list of these inscriptions is prepared from the material published so far. Though the present study pertains specifically to the temples built during 11th to 14th centuries CE, all the available inscriptions, right from the period of Satavahanas, are analysed for a meaningful understanding of the rise of temples during the proposed period of study. Only the inscriptions that record the construction/renovation of temples and/or various donations endowed on these temples have been included and the small epigraphs on the pedestals of a number of images that record the installation of icons have not been considered, unless they refer to temple-related activity. The data provided by the inscriptions is classified into specific categories of find-spot, temple-location, donor, donee/god and nature & terms of endowments for generating the type of information aimed by the present research. The data is presented in tabular format for convenient reading.

The data is collected from the published material. All the available inscriptions have been taken into account barring a handful of inscriptions published in local journals that have been inaccessible. While all the inscriptions available from within the present boundaries of

Maharashtra are included, the inscriptions pertaining to other regions are excluded even though these are now available in Maharashtra. However, the inscriptions, which record the donations to the temples outside Maharashtra, are considered because these grants consist of land/villages/taxes within Maharashtra and are given by the royal houses/officers from this region. A few inscriptions recording grants of land, which is at present outside the boundary of Maharashtra are included as the temples to which the grants were endowed were located in Maharashtra. Again, very fragmentary inscriptions are not included as these hardly provide any information and the spurious grants are also not included as it provides misleading and inaccurate information.

This data was put in the Access Datasheet of computer software and the tables and charts that are presented in the second chapter were generated.

Limitations of Data

The number of temple-inscriptions from Maharashtra is much less compared to rich corpora from south India. This work is based on 255 inscriptions that have furnished from the vast area of Maharashtra from the earliest times. Compared to this, Rajaram Hegde's work, which deals with a small unit of Banavasi-12000 comprising of only three talukas in south Karnataka, has at its disposal 210 inscriptions (Hegde 2006). The Draksharama temple in East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh carry 301 inscriptions recording endowments made during five centuries between 1038 to 1453 CE (Kanaka Durga and Reddy 1992). Similarly, the inscriptions from Maharashtra are not as elaborate and detailed as those from south India. While many of the inscriptions are published with detailed translation, a larger number are merely recorded without any reference to its actual find-spot, date or proper translation. Moreover, unequal work carried out in different areas may lead to greater representation of one area over other and may overemphasise the role of a few temples concentrated in a particular area. Again, there may be a number of inscriptions still stored in temples or in possession of concerned persons and thus are unavailable for study. Some of the inscriptions, though lying in open, have not been studied for various reasons. During the course of fieldwork, the author has noticed an inscription kept opposite Mahadeva temple at Sakegaon in Buldhana district, which has not been read. G. B. Deglurkar has referred to an unpublished grant from Murum in Latur district (Deglurkar 1971), while Thosar has also referred to few unpublished inscriptions in his possession (Thosar 2001). It has not been possible to access the information contained in these inscriptions. Consequently, new inscriptions may alter the

statistics arrived at in the present work. In spite of these limitations the study has focused a few significant trends about the temple institution in medieval Maharashtra that may not change drastically with further modifications in the available data.

The more serious issue is however, about some of the categories used here to understand the nature of patronage. The patrons are classified into categories of royal officers, feudatories, royalty, commoners, merchants and composite, the last one recording donations by more than one of the above categories. The problem lies in determining exact nature of the status of some of these patrons. Some of the 'feudatories' such as *samanta* and *mahamandaleshvara* are also found holding offices of *mahapradhan* or *sandhivigrahaka* in some cases, thus causing confusion over the precise category they belong to. Such patrons have been treated as feudatories and are thus classified accordingly. In some cases, the princes are referred to as feudatories as evident from an inscription dated to 1107 CE in the reign of Later Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI from Dalim in Umarga taluka of Osmanabad district. The donor of the grant is Mahamandaleshvara Ahvamallarasa, evidently the prince of the royal family, as 'Ahvamalla' was a favourite title of a number of Later Chalukyan rulers. But the specific reference to the designation of the patron, added to which is the use of suffix 'arasa', a definite sign of official status of the patron, make it clear that at the time of making this particular grant, the prince was a feudatory, ruling in the assigned area and is therefore classified as a feudatory. A few of the patrons such as *gavundas*, *herggades*, *prabhus* and *mahajanas* may not be 'royal officials' in strict sense, but since they were definitely in some sort of administrative and/or authoritative position in contemporary society, they are here classified under the 'officers'. Some of the 'commoners' are clearly relatives of feudatories, officials or other important dignitaries in the society, but since they themselves are not found holding any title or position, they are termed as 'commoners' here, though they may not be so in strict sense of word. Finally, the problem of 'king' or 'royalty' is one of the most complex issues of medieval history in India. The titles held by these 'kings' are often misleading and confusing. The Shilaharas, though called '*mahamandaleshvaras*' in most of their records, were definitely quite independent rulers, recognising imperial authority only occasionally. They have been treated as independent dynasty by most historians and therefore are classified under kings here. The Kalachuris, holding feudatory titles in some early records are found holding royal titles within a span of ten years. When the former feudatory family attempted to overcome the imperial dynasty and established a new dynastic rule, there was a period when both the families claimed imperial status and held high-sounding titles and were found ruling

simultaneously for some time. The exact nature of their status is not clear during this buffer period. Again, some of the ‘kings’ of little-known dynasties were probably vassals or subordinates of contemporary imperial houses, but since their overlords are not mentioned in the records, it is difficult to categorise them. Were these rulers, feudatories or kings? What was the nature and dynamics of the relationship between ‘feudatories’ and ‘kings’? These questions are outside the purview of the present work, but should be kept in mind while going through the classifications presented here, for the nature of medieval polity is still understood poorly, which was obviously more fluid and flexible than we have thought.

CHAPTER 2

TEMPLE GRANTS

2.1 NATURE OF EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL

The list of 255 inscriptions from different parts of Maharashtra as presented in the table below, includes inscriptions recording construction of temples or temple parts such as pillars, *torana* and platforms, renovation/repair of temples as well as endowments given to temples. Of these, 24 inscriptions refer to the building of temples, one inscription records construction of temple along with the installation of the main deity, while four inscriptions record the renovation or repairs of already extant temples. While the donation details of 29 inscriptions are lost either because they are too fragmentary or not published with proper translation, the rest record the grants provided for the maintenance of temples. Of these, 20 inscriptions record construction of temples or temple parts and endowment of grants to these newly built temples, one inscription mentions consecration of temple along with donation, while one inscription records installation of an icon, apparently in a temple and a donation. The largest number of inscriptions, a total of 173, record endowments of land, villages, cash, taxes, commodities etc granted to temples by kings, royal officials, merchants or common people. A number of grants given to one temple, but at different dates, often at the interval of few years, by different patrons are written on same stone slab. Such inscriptions, though written on one slab, are counted as independent grants.

2.2 LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS RECORDING DONATIONS TO TEMPLES

The list below, prepared from published sources, record 255 inscriptions pertaining to constrution/repair/renovation of temples and various donations given to temples since the earliest evidence to 14th century CE. The inscriptions are arranged chronologically.

No	Inscription	Date	Material	Language/ Script	Dynasty King	Temple Location	Donee/ God	Donor	Donation & Purpose	Remark	Reference
1	Deotek, Brahmapuri taluka, Chandrapur dt.	4 th century CE	Slab in the temple	Sanskrit/ Brahmi	Vakataka-Rudrasena	Chikkumburi		King	Construction of a temple at Chikkumburi (Chikmara near Deotek)		Mirashi 1963, No. 1, pp. 1-4
2	Ramtek, Nagpur dt.	4 th century CE	On the right wall of the hall of Kevala Narasimha temple	Sanskrit	Vakataka-Pravarasena II	Ramtek	Loka-Natha in the temple of Prabhavatis vamin (probably Narasimha)	Daughter of Prabhavati Gupta and sister of Pravarasena II	Construction of the temple of Prabhavatisvamin	It is implied that probably a grant was also made	Shastri 1997 Bakker and Isaacson 1993
3	Vada, Thane dt.	400 CE	Now in the Prince of Wales Musuem	Box headed Brahmi	Bhoja-Maurya	Probably Vada		Simhadatta, son of Anakiparadatta Ishapprakki, the <i>vallabha-talavara</i> of the king	Installation of the deity Kotishvara i) A piece of fertile land, called ' <i>tari-bhaumah</i> ' ii) A garden iii) 12 <i>padas</i> of land iv) Land called ' <i>Shishteshvar Aryabhumi</i> ' in Tatakaphuvallavana and bounded in the east by water-fall, in the west by sea, in the north by a tank and a garden and in the south by a water canal v) 12 <i>padas</i> of threshing floor in Purrapura	There is a reference to temple (<i>sthana</i>) of Kotishvara.	Ramesh K V 1973 Mirashi V V ed. 1977, p. vii Shastri A M 1997, p. 107
4	Kasare, Sakri taluka, Dhule dt.	653 CE (1 st June)	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/ Proto-type of old Kannada	Sendraka-Nikumbhallashakti or Allashakti		Shiva	King	Land for enjoyment		Khare 1949-50
5	Manor, Palghar	691-92	Copper plates	Sanskrit/South	Early Chalukya	Manapura	Sun	King	2 villages		Deva Krishna

	taluka, Thane dt.	CE		ern variety Brahmi	(Navsari branch)-Vinayaditya	(Manor)			A hamlet 2 domestic sites For supplying perfumes, flowers, incense, lamps, music and offerings		1949-50
6	Nasik dt.	Undated -7 th century CE	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/ Brahmi	Early Chalukya-Nagavardhana (nephew of Pulakesin)		Kapaleshvara	King	A village along with crop growing in and the right of not to be entered by the <i>chata & bhata</i> . i) for the rite of 'guggula-puja' of god Kapaleshvara ii) for the benefits of the ascetics residing in the temple.		Shastree, B. G. 1844, Bhandarkar, R. G. 1878-80, Fleet, J. F. 1880
7	Anjaneri, Nasik taluka, Nasik dt.	710-711 CE	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/ Southern Brahmi	Harishchandra-Bhogashakti	Jayapura (Jawhar Budruk near Anjaneri)	Bhogeshvara (Narayana)	King Tejavarmaraja (perhaps a royal officer)	Eight villages (mostly in Dindori taluka, Nasik dt.) and certain toll taxes, both in cash as well as kind. i) for providing material for worship and performing other rites ii) for the repair of the temple iii) for the maintenance of a <i>sattr</i> in the town iv) for entertainment combined with dancing, singing and music Donated villages were i) exempted from all dues, forced labour & special rights ii) not to be entered by <i>chata & bhata</i> iii) with full powers of adjudication Pasture-land in a village south of Jayapura and investment of 100 <i>rupakas</i> with a guild in Jayapura by Tejavarman (recorded in a post-script to the royal charter).	The temple was entrusted to the representative merchants of Jayapura. They were to perform the service and take care of the property of the god. The merchants of the town were exempted from the octroi duty and the provision for the boarding of royal officers. Five or ten merchants were entrusted with celebrating the <i>yatra</i> festival of the god in the month of Margasirsha.	Mirashi, 1955, No. 1, pp. 146-154

8	Dive-Agar, Shrivardhan taluka, Raigarh dt.	727-728 CE	Copper-plate	Sanskrit/ Southern Brahmi	Chalukya (Gujarat branch) – Jayashrya Mangalarasa	Kadaroho-Votinera (not identified)	Goddess Katyayani	Prince Dharasraya Jayasimha	A village	The image of the goddess was set up on the bank of the temple-tank.	IAR, 1962-63, No. 34 (2), p. 52
9	Bhandak, Varoda taluka, Chandrapur dt.	772 CE (23 rd June)	Copper-plate	Sanskrit/ Northern variety	Rashtrakuta-Krishna I	Udumvara-manti (Amaravati)	God Aditya	King	A village (100 <i>nivarttana</i>) i) for the performance of <i>bali, charu, naivedya</i> , worship ii) for repairs iii) for earning merit for himself and his parents.	The donated village excluded former gifts to gods & Brahmanas and also the river along the boundary of the town. The grant was given at the request of Madana.	Sukthankar, 1917-18
10 & 11	Mehun, Muktainagar taluka (formerly Edalabad taluka), Jalgaon dt.	807 CE (16 th Feb.) 825 CE (26 th Aug)	Stone slab- Found while digging to the east of old Someshvara temple at old Mehun	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Rashtrakuta-Govinda III Amoghavarsha	Probably Mehun (the temple is recorded to be on the bank of river Tapi)	Ugraditya (Sun god)	Mahasamanta Narasinghadeva	In 807 CE, a new sun temple was started after the old one built in 7 th century CE collapsed. A village i) along with all government and other taxes ii) rights of ownership & iii) right of not to be entered by <i>chata & bhata</i> Half of the village was for the worship of god, while the other half was donated to <i>Mahajana</i> Prabhakarbhata Previously donated village by Chalukyan king Vikramaditya I (654-681 CE) was also given	The temple of Ugraditya was originally built by king Shubhakanta by the favour of Chalukyan king Vikramaditya I (654-681 CE), who donated a village to the temple and built a new city at the donated village. Eventually this temple collapsed and on the same site a new sun temple was	Kolte 1987, No. 14, pp. 222-255

										<p>built by Narasinghadeva in the reign of Rashtrakuta king Govinda III on 16th Feb. 807 CE</p> <p>The grant of the village was made in the reign of Amoghvarsha on 26th Aug. 825 CE</p>	
12	Vajirkhed, Malegaon taluka, Nasik dt.	915 CE (24 th Feb.)	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Rashtrakuta- Indra III	Chandana-puri (3.2km south of Malegaon)	Tirthankara	King	<p>Two villages and land of <i>basti</i> to Amogha <i>basti</i></p> <p>The villages were given with certain rights such as i) taxes in grains & cash ii) right to punish ten offences iii) not to be entered by <i>chata & bhata</i> iv) all the produce v) not to be interfered by royal officials</p>	<p>The grant was made over to Vardhamana of Dravida sangha.</p> <p>It was issued from Kurundak on the occasion of 'pattabandhot sava' (weighing the person against gold)</p>	<p>Kolte, V. B. 1969</p> <p>Kolte, V. B. 1987, No. 15, pp. 256-287</p>
13	Vajirkhed, Malegaon taluka, Nasik dt.	915 CE (24 th Feb.)	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Rashtrakuta- Indra III	Vadner (24km north-west of Malegaon)	Tirthankara	King	<p>Six villages to Uriamma <i>basti</i></p> <p>The villages were given with the rights as recorded in aforementioned plate except the right of not to be entered by <i>chata & bhata</i>.</p>	Do.	<p>Kolte, V. B. 1969</p> <p>Kolte, V. B. 1987, No. 15, pp. 256-287</p>
14	Chinchani, Dahanu taluka, Thane dt.	926 CE (17 th April)	Copper-plate	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Rashtrakuta- Indra III	Sanjan	Goddess Dashami (Durga or Parvati)	Governor of Sanjan- Sugatipa alias Madhumati	<p>A village and half <i>dhura</i> of land in another village to the <i>Mathika</i></p> <p>Rights: i) major & minor taxes ii) <i>bhoga-bhaga</i> (periodical offering & the royal share of</p>	<p>The governor Madhumati belonged to the Tajika (Arab) community. His name was sanskritised</p>	Sircar, D. C. 1957-58a

									<p>the produce of fields)</p> <p>iii) punishment of ten offences</p> <p>iv) taxes in grains & cash</p> <p>v) tax payable in lieu of free labour</p> <p>vi) enjoyment of things found underground</p> <p>vii) non-admission of <i>chata</i> & <i>bhata</i></p> <p>The grant was given for</p> <p>i) the repairs of the <i>mathika</i></p> <p>ii) offering of <i>naivedya</i></p>	<p>form of the Arabic name Muhammad.</p> <p>The brothers Revana, Kautaka & Annaiya were also responsible for the construction of the temple.</p> <p>The grant was declared at an assemblage of Hamyamana-pauras, superintendent s of the collection of royal share of the produce and administrative officers.</p>	
15	Bhere, Bhiwandi taluka, Thane dt.	997 CE (25 th or 26 th June)	Copper-plate	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Northern Shilahara-Aparajitadeva	Lavanetata (Lonad, 9.6km southeast of Bhiwandi)	Lonaditya (Sun god)	King	<p>A village</p> <p>Rights:</p> <p>i) rows of tress</p> <p>ii) major tax</p> <p>iii) punishment of certain offences</p> <p>iv) non- admission of <i>chata</i> & <i>bhata</i></p> <p>The village was given for</p> <p>i) providing flowers, perfumes, lights, offering of <i>naivedya</i>, public shows etc.</p> <p>ii) the repairs of the temple</p>	<p>The village was donated with the exception of what had been previously given to gods and Brahmanas.</p> <p>The charter was deposited at Sthanaka (Thane)</p>	Kielhorn, F. 1894-95a
16	Kandhar, Nanded dt.	10 th century CE	Stone-slab (originally a part of pillar) Fragmentary	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Rashtrakuta-Krishna III	Probably Kandhar	Bankeshvara, Chhalleshvara, Gojjigga-	Probably king	<p>Various donations in cash & kind, probably to the temple servants, brahmanas, for the construction of <i>mandapa</i> and for various welfare</p>		Sircar, D. C. & Bhattacharya, G. 1963-64a

							somanatha, Tumbeshva ra & Tudigeshva ra		activities such as providing water, fire-places, fodder for cattle etc. 500 <i>dramma</i> per month for the ablution with curds, milk, flower to gods.		
17	Varud, Varud taluka, Amaravati dt.	10 th -11 th century AD	Stone slab (now built in the wall of new <i>mandapa</i> of Kedareshvara temple at Varud)	Sanskrit/Naga ri	King Kedar (dynasty name lost) Could have been a mandalik of Paramara king	Probably Varud	Vidhushekh ara (Shiva)	King	Reference to donations to architects, dancers etc		Chitale S. K. 1993
18	Kharepatan, Devagad taluka, Sindhudurg dt.	1008 CE	Copper-plate	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Northern Shilahara- Rattaraja	Probably Kharepatan	Avveshvara	King	Three villages for i) five-fold offerings ii) repairs iii) providing food & raiment for the ascetics iv) benefit of disciples, learned men, visitors & others Rights: i) not to be touched by any official ii) not to be entered by <i>chata</i> and <i>bhata</i> Moreover, toll taxes on ship, families of females, oilmen, gardeners, potters, washermen, and two pieces of land were also donated.	The villages were donated with the exception of previous gifts to gods and Brahmanas.	Kielhorn, F. 1894-95b
19	Berlin Museum (original find- spot is not known)	1034 CE (5 th April)	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Northern Shilahara- Chhittaraja	Kunde (Kunde, Bhiwandi taluka, Thane dt.)	Bhaiyapesh vara	King	A field situated in the village Kunde. Rights: i) all produce, grass, wood & water ii) free from taxes iii) not to be entered by <i>chata</i> & <i>bhata</i> iv) not to be obstructed or interfered with	The temple was built by Bhaiyapa, the head of the <i>vishaya</i> Mahirahara. The grant excluded the previous gifts to gods & brahmanas.	Mirashi, V. V. 1977, No. 11, pp. 64-71

									Purpose: i) providing food & clothing to the ascetics dwelling in the temple ii) providing material for the worship- sandal paste, flowers, incense, lights, offering, <i>tambula</i> , singing, music & dancing iii) repairs iv) spiritual welfare of king & his parents.		
20	Chinchani, Dahanu taluka, Thane dt.	1034 CE (15 th Sep.)	Copper-plate	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Northern Shilahara- Chhittaraja	Sanjan	Goddess Bhagavati	Mahamand- aleshvara Chamunda- raja	An oil-mill to the Kautaka- <i>mathika</i> for i) lighting a lamp in front of the goddess ii) besmearing oil on the feet of the scholars & brahmana visitors	Chamundaraja probably belonged to the Modha dynasty. Kautaka- <i>mathika</i> is same as mentioned in the inscription of Indra III, which was built by Kautaka & others at Sanjan.	Sircar, D. C. 1957-58b
21	Tadkhel, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1047 CE (1 st April)		Kannada	Later Chalukya- Someshvara I	Tadakallu (Tadkhel)	Number of temples	Army chief Nagavarma Bhogiseti and other merchants	Land & cash from various taxes for i) worship ii) feeding of ascetics & students iii) maintenance of the temple servants iv) repairs Also granted land & house- sites to 52 brahmanas Some money out of their income	These temples were built by Nagavarma in the name of his parents, wife, son, brother & sister. The grants were entrusted to Vageshvara- pandita of kalamukha sect. Tadakallu was	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 3, pp. 215-216

										granted to Nagavarma by the king.	
22	Eklara, Mukhed taluka, Nanded dt.	1049 CE (17 th Dec.)		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara I	Probably Ekkalagave (Eklara)		Keshiraja (son of <i>Dandanayaka</i>), Kalidasayya & <i>Manneya</i> Nakarasa	Land & money	The temple was built by Mallagavavunda of Ekkalagave. The beginning portion of the inscription is lost.	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 4, pp. 216-217
23	Suggaon, Mukhed taluka Nanded dt.	1050 CE (13 th May)		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara I	Probably Ekkalagave (Eklara)		Name is lost	Land	The temple was built by Mallagavavunda of Ekkalagave.	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 5, p. 217
24	Kalvan, Nasik dt.	Undated About mid 11 th century CE	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Not known-Yashovarman	Country of Shvetapada (northern part of Nasik dt.)	Tirthankara	Samanta Ranaka Amma	Land i) 40 <i>nivarttana</i> ii) 25 <i>nivarttana</i> iii) 35 <i>nivarttana</i> iv) 2 <i>nivarttana</i> of flower-garden Two oil-mills, 14 shops & 14 <i>dramma</i> Purpose: i) worship ii) maintenance	Yashovarman is introduced as having obtained half of the town of Selluka from the Bhoja I of Paramara family.	Banerji 1927-28
25	Mangalvedha, Solapur dt.	1052 CE (24 th Nov.)	Stone slab	Kannada	Not mentioned		Bhogeshvara	<i>Mahamandale shavara</i> Kannapayyarsa	50 <i>mattara</i> land		Gopal, B. R. 1969, No. 88, pp. 286-287
26	Hottul, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	Latter half of the 11 th century CE	Stone pillar, lying near a dilapidated temple	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Later Chalukya-Someshvara (probably I)	Kalyan (Bidar dt. Karnataka)	Siddheshvara	King Raibheya alias Kalichora II of the 'Fire race' –vassal of Someshvara	A <i>nishka</i> & a <i>dramma</i> out of the revenue income of each one of the 1000 villages in the Yerga <i>vishaya</i> (Yergi, 4.8 km from Hottul)	The temple was set up by shreshthi Siddhugi, a friend of Raibheya. The inscription was set up in Hottul because	Sircar, D. C. & Bhattacharya, G. 1963-64b, pp. 159-168

										possibly it was the headquarters of the Yerga <i>vishya</i> .	
27	Miraj, Sangli dt.	1058 CE (24 th Dec.)	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/Kannada	Shilahara-Marasimha	Outskirts of city of Mirinja	Ascetic Chikkadeva to provide for the worship of Shiva <i>panchayatana</i>	King	Village Kuntavada (Kutwad, about 4 km east of Shirol) for the worship	The temple of Shiva <i>panchayatana</i> was made a royal memorial by the king.	Mirashi, V. V. 1977, No. 43, pp. 200-206.
28	Ambarnatha, Kalyan taluka, Thane dt.	1061 CE (27 th July)	On the stone beam of the Shiva temple	Sanskrit/Nagari	Northern Shilahara-Mahamandales havara Mamvanirajadeva	Ambarnatha	Ambarnatha	King	Records the completion of the temple, which was initiated by king's predecessor Chittaraja.		Mirashi, V. V. 1977, No. 17, pp. 100-113.
29	Terni, Gadhinglaj taluka, Kolhapur dt.	1062 CE (7 th Dec)	Pieces of stone kept in the Duradundeshvara temple at Terni	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara I Ratta-Kalassenarasa	Deridala	Jaina	Subordinate officer pergade Kavaraja of Ratta king Kalassenarasa	Land for the repairs of the <i>basti</i> Another grant of money Land to another <i>basti</i> of Devanandi bhattaraka of Desigana	The temple was built by Kannagavunda of Deridala and was named Ratta-Jinalaya	Ritti S & Karavirkar 2000, No 1, pp. 1-7
30	Eklara, Mukhed taluka, Nanded dt.	1066 CE (24 th Dec.)		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara I	Ekkalagave (Eklara) in Sakkarage 84	Malleshvaram	Mahasamanta Karkkapparasa	Land & house-site	Karkkapparase is described as lord of Amaravati.	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 6, pp. 217-218
31	Vai, Yeotmal dt.	About 1067 CE	Stone slab		Not mentioned		Jaina	Bhimadeva	Records the construction of a temple of 'Shrivitaraga'	Bhimadeva was the grandson of one Bharata, who was the Mahamatya of Rashtrakuta king Krishna III.	Kolte, V. B. 1987, No. 2, pp. 10-14.
32	Murum, Umarga taluka, Osmanabad dt.	Undated (1043-1068)			Later Chalukya-Someshvara I		Jaina			Unpublished	Deglurkar 1971, p. 776, Footnote 2

		CE)									
33	Bhandarkavthe, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1069 CE (9 th April)	Slab behind the Maruti temple	Kannada	Kalachuri- Ammugidevara sa		Nageshvara -deva	Nagara Muddagavund a, other officers & the merchants	Land, house-sites, oil-mill & money acquired through certain taxes for various services in the temple.		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 12, p. 151
34	Vaghli, Chalisingaon taluka, Jalgaon dt.	1069 CE (21 st July)	On the three large broken stones near the Krishna temple	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Maurya- Govindaraja Yadava- Seunachandra II		Siddheshva ra	Govindaraja Seunachandra II	Govindaraja built the temple with a tank and donated 4 fields and 16 <i>nivartana</i> of land for the worship. Seunachandra granted two villages Samgami & Madhuvatika (not identified) together with their income	Seunachandra II was the sovereign lord of Govindaraja.	Kielhorn, F. 1894a
35	Tadkhel, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1070 CE (24 th Dec.)			Later Chalukya- Somesvara II		Nigalamka malla Jinalaya	Karkarasa, a subordinate chief, Nagavarmayy athe <i>Prabhu</i> of Tadakallu & the <i>Mahajanas</i>	Land Flower garden & an oil-mill for feeding the Jaina ascetics & for the repairs.		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 8, pp. 218-219
36	Kolhapur	Not dated	In the temple of Ambabai	Sanskrit/Balbo dh	Later Chalukya- Somadeva	Kolhapur	Mahalaksh mi	King	Village Kumbharagram	The grant was made at the advice of king's spiritual guide, when the king had come to perform midday worship of the goddess	Graham 1854, No. 23, pp. 334 & 479-80
37	Bhandak Varoda taluka, Chandrapur dt.	1076 AD	On a pillar in Chandika temple at Bhandak						Construction of the temple	Indistinct Mentions the name of Chandikadevi	Hira Lal 1916, No. 15, p. 15
38	Yeragi, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	Possibly 1078 CE		Kannada	Later Chalukya- Vikramaditya VI	Erige	Mulasthan	Manikabhandari, <i>Dandanayka</i> Chattapayya Member of merchant guilds	Land Money & other articles		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 9, p. 219

39	Kardkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1079 CE (1 st Dec.)	On two faces of a pillar in the compound of Mahadeva temple	Kannada	Not mentioned		Somanatha, Dhoreshvar a, Kalichoresh vara & Prasanna Bhairavade va	<i>Mahamandale shvara</i> Karkarasa	Land & villages Kavaligave & Aluru for i) the feeding of the ascetics & students ii) repairs of the temples	The grant was entrusted to Shri Chandrashekh ara-pandita.	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 10, pp. 220-221
40	Nimbargi, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1080 CE	Slab in Mahadeva temple Fragmentary	Kannada	Not mentioned	Nimbargi	Neminatha <i>Basti</i>	Ammarasa (possibly same as Ammugi-deva of Kalachuri family)	Land	The temple was constructed by Bhogagavund a.	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 13, pp. 151-152- xlii
41	Chanai, Ambejogai taluka, Bid dt.	1080 CE?	Slab near Somnatha temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Possibly Yadava- Mahakumar Singhanadeva- possibly Singhana I		Someshvar a temple	King	Village (Selvan) and land		Pathan 1989, No. 72, pp. 153-155
42	Tirtha, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1082 CE (5 th Dec.)	On one side of a pillar kept near the Lakshmana shrine of Rama- Lakshmana- Sita temple	Kannada	Later Chalukya- Vikramaditya VI	Possibly Tirtha	Shri Rameshvar a		Village Tirthada Ekkaruka	The grant was entrusted to the saint Vimalashakti- panditadeva of the Lakula Shaiva sect.	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 1, pp. 143-144
43	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1088 CE (6 th Jan.)	Engraved in continuation of the earlier inscription from the place		Not mentioned			Kalichorarasa (possibly of the Vahni family) Rebbaladevi	Village Gavumdagave & some lands & house-sites at Deyigave, Marikallu & Kolanuru Some grants	Kalichorarasa also installed the pinnacle of the temple, probably built by him	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 11, pp. 220-221
44	Akkalkot, Solapur dt.	1092 CE (24 th April)	Slab near old palace	Kannada	Later Chalukya- Vikramaditya VI	Hande- kkadi?	Chandrashv aradeva	Chandradityay ya, the <i>Prabhu</i> of Hande- kkadi & his son Mallarasa Sovanathayya & the tax collector	200 <i>mattara</i> of wet-land, 4 <i>mattara</i> of garden land & 2 oil-mills Remission of tax on horses coming from outside	Mahamandale shavara Kavilarasara of the Shilahara family & his overlord Mahamandale shvara Jogamarasa of the Kalachuri family were present,	Panchamukhi R.S. 1951, No. 11, pp. 35-38

										apparently to ratify the grant.	
45	Hippalagaon (Ganeshvadi), Nilanga taluka, Latur dt.	1099 CE (30 th Nov.)	Slab near Keshav Bharati Samadhi Fragmentary	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya VI	Pippala-gram (Hippalgaon Nilanga taluka)	Temples of Brahma, Vishnu, Maheshvar a etc on the bank of Bhimasamu dra lake.	Mahapradhan Bhimanath	Construction of the temples and grant of 500 <i>nivarttana</i> land at Pippalgram for i) regular worship, incense, lamp & offerings ii) providing food to the mendicants & students at Sarasvati <i>mandapa</i> in the temple The eulogy describes his other donations, which include installation/construction of a number of icons/temples and donations of villages for their maintenance within present Marathwada region.	The grant was entrusted to Tatpurush Pandit, acharya of the temple & the <i>mandapa</i> . Bhimanath received the village of Pillalagram from Vikramaditya VI.	Kolte V. B. 1987, No. 11, pp. 151-184
46	Dharmapuri, Ambejogai taluka, Bid dt.	11 th century CE		Kannada	Not mentioned	Dharmapura	(Besaki)sett iya-basati (Jaina)	<i>Pamcha-pattana</i> of Pottalakere, the <i>Kamchagaras & Telunga-nagaras</i>	Income accruing from different taxes for i) worship ii) feeding of the ascetics	The grant was entrusted to Mahavira-Pandita of Yapaniya-sangha, the acharya of the temple.	ARIE 1961-62 No. 461, p. 93
47	Mangalvedha, Solapur dt.	11 th century CE	Slab lying in the compound of Mamlatdar's office	Kannada Fragmentary			Uttareshvar a		A grant		Gopal 1969, No. 90, pp. 288-289
48	Mangalvedha, Solapur dt.	11 th century CE	Slab lying in the compound of Mamlatdar's office	Kannada	Kalachuri-Pemardi		Narayanade va	<i>Mahamandale shvara</i> Jogamarasa	50 <i>mattara</i> land	The inscription registers the confirmation of the earlier grant.	Gopal 1969, No. 34, p. 143
49	Ghulla, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	11 th century CE	On three sides of a pillar in the village	Kannada Fragmentary					Grant of money		ARIE 1959-60 No. 215, p. 67
50	Kamati, Mohol taluka, Solapur dt.	11 th century CE		Kannada	Kalachuri-Sovideva		Name is lost	<i>Gavunda</i> (name lost)	Land		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 20, p. 157
51	Mardi, North	11 th	On the floor	Kannada	Later Chalukya-			<i>Prabhus</i> of	Grant		Ritti & Kumbhar

	Solapur taluka Solapur dt.	century CE	of the corridor of the mandir- masjid	Damaged	Vikramaditya VI			Devani, Singhana, Saudare, Nakisetti & Mailarsetti			1988, No. 7, p. 147
52	Paithan, Aurangabad dt.	Around 1100 CE	Slab in Dattatreya temple or Mahanubhav <i>Matha</i>	Marathi- Sanskrit/ Nagari	Not mentioned		<p>a) Sodhala Narayana, one of the gods in the <i>jagati</i> of Someshvara Swami temple</p> <p>b) Vesu Narayana</p> <p>c) Mhatu Narayana</p> <p>d) Shahstra <i>Matha</i></p> <p>e) <i>Matha</i> at Seugaon (Shevgan, near Paithan)</p>		<p>i) 24 <i>nivarttana</i> land in Kavithigram (Kavathe, near Paithan)</p> <p>ii) 1 oil-mill to the west of the compound of Somanatha</p> <p>iii) 1 field, to the west of a stream in Takali (Takaliman, near Nevasa)</p> <p>iv) 300 <i>shata</i> land of street at Takali</p> <p>v) produce of Takali</p> <p>vi) land for the devotees for</p> <p>i) 1 <i>gadyan</i> for cleaning the temple</p> <p>ii) 1 <i>dramma</i> for the abulation, consecrated rice, offering, gift of bamboo basket on <i>Ekadashi</i>, bed of god (<i>devashayan</i>)</p> <p>Donation to Vesu Narayana</p> <p>i) 1 <i>nivarttana</i> land</p> <p>ii) one of the hamlets associated with Divi</p> <p>Donation to Shashtra <i>Matha</i></p> <p>i) 1 <i>gadyan</i> for cleaning & sprinkling</p> <p>Donation to Mhatu Narayana</p> <p>i) 8 <i>nivarttana</i> land</p> <p>Donation to the <i>Matha</i> at Seugaon</p> <p>i) 8 <i>dramma</i></p> <p>ii) 4 <i>dramma</i> for cleaning</p>	Thus, there was a large temple of Someshvara along with other gods in the compound at Paithan. Further there were temples or sthan of Sodhala, Vesu & Mhatu and Shahstra <i>Matha</i> . The Shahstra <i>Matha</i> is mentioned in the Mahanubhava text, 'Sthanpothi'.	Tulpule 1963, No. 70, pp. 363-369
53	Hottul, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1101 CE (31 st Oct.)	Slab	Kannada	Not mentioned	Erige (Yeragi)	Traipurush deva (probably triple-	Rebbayanayak a & some of his officers	Some grants		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 12, p. 221

							shrined)				
54	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1102 CE (31 st Dec.)	Slab	Kannada	Not mentioned	Karadkhed	Svyambhu Someshvara	Mahamandale shvara Samant Thakkura	Village Nerilage for i) feeding ii) education		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 13, pp. 221-222
55	Nagpur	1104-05 CE	Slab, now in Nagpur Museum	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Paramara-Lakshmadeva	Probably Nagpur		King	Two villages in the Vyapura mandala (Nagpur?) His brother King Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapataka instead.	Also records that either Lakshmadeva or King Naravarmadeva (who ordered the architect Lakshmidhara) caused this temple to be built.	Shahstree 1843 Kielhorn 1894b
56	Tirtha, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1106 CE (14 th Oct.)	Engraved in continuation of the earlier inscription of 1082 CE	Kannada	Not mentioned- <i>Mahasamanta</i> Vijayaditya		Rameshvara		Samya of Ekkaruka	The grant was entrusted to the saint Anantashaktipanditadeva, the disciple of the priest (name lost) of the <i>Matha</i> attached to the temple of Mulashtanadeva.	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 2, p. 144
57	Ramling-Mudgad, Nilanga taluka, Latur dt.	1107 CE		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya VI	Mudagolu	Nilakanthes havana	<i>Dandanayaka</i> Naravaidya Narayana-bhatta	Land		IAR 1964-65 No. 51, 60
58	Andur, Tuljapur taluka, Osmanabad dt.	1107 CE (16 th Dec.)	Slab fixed into a dilapidated wall in Maruti temple at Andur	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya VI	Anadur	Manikeshvara	<i>Yuvaraja</i> Vallabha Mallikarjuna Somanathayya nayaka, Dasimarasa, Sobhanayaka, the <i>Sunkaverggad</i> e of Ananduru 300 & others	Village Bettakereyur Lands, tax-money, betel leaves, nuts & money	Yuvaraja made the grant at the request of his feudatory <i>Mahapradhan</i> , <i>Maneverggade</i> <i>Dandanayaka</i> Nachimarasa	ARIE 1962-63 No. 745, p. 132
59	Dalim, Umerga taluka,	1107 CE (6 th	Slab near the Dargah of	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya	Bidi-Dalimba	Keshavadeva	Mahamandale shvara	Land, flower-garden, oil-mill etc. for	The grant was made on the	ARIE 1963-64 No. 337, p. 89

	Osmanabad dt.	April)	Hazrat Bagh Sawar		VI			Ahavamallara sa	i) worship ii) repairs Land to a number of individuals including one Revoja, who had built the temple of Keshavadeva.	occasion of the installation of the deity's image, which was caused to be made by the <i>Mahamandale shavra</i>	
60	Tirtha, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1108 CE (6 th Dec.)	Engraved on the another face of the pillar with earlier two inscriptions	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya VI	Vekaruka (Tirtha)	Rameshvara	Yuvaraja Mallikarjuna Officer of the prince	Village Dindavura in Kumbarigave, which formed part of Anamduru-60 Land & house-site at Hottige	The grant was entrusted to Vimalashakti-panditadeva, in charge of the temple	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 4, pp. 145-146
61	Honnur, Kagal taluka, Kolhapur dt.	About 1108-1109 CE	On the front of the abhishek-stand outside a Jaina temple	Kannada	Shilahara-Mahamandales havaras Ballaladeva & Gandaradityadeva		Jaina <i>basti</i>	Kings	200 <i>kamma</i> land & a house-site measuring 6 cubits for i) providing food for those performing penance	The <i>basti</i> was built by Bammagavunda	Fleet 1883, No. 6, p. 102 Deo S. B. 1984, No. 721, p. 349 Mirashi 1977, No. 44, pp. 206-207
62	Bhandarakavath e, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1109 CE (23 rd Feb.)	Slab lying near the high school Damaged	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya VI	Bhandaragau tage	Mulashtan Kalideva	Yuvaraja Mallikarjunadeva	Land & house-sites	The grant was received by the saint Sovarasijiya	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 5, p. 146
63	Talale, Kolhapur dt.	1110 CE (5 th May)	Copper-plate	Sanskrit/Nagari	Shilahara-Gandaraditya	Irukudi (Rukdi, near Kolhapur)	Mahadeva, Buddha & Arhat Gudaleshvara	King	3 <i>nivartana</i> land, 1 to each of the three gods 1 <i>vritti</i> for i) maintaining a perpetual lamp ii) performance of <i>agnishikta</i> iii) maintenance of a <i>prapa</i> iv) supply of betel leaves Continuation of the previously made gifts of i) 1 <i>nivartana</i> land for the worship of Gudaleshvara ii) ½ <i>nivartana</i> land for the worship of Mahadeva	The gods were set up by the king in the vicinity of a tank, built by himself	Indraji 1877, Kielhorn 1894c, No. 83, p. 127 Naik 1948, No. 231, p. 101, Mirashi 1977, No. 45, pp. 207-214
64	Sagroli, Biloli taluka,	1110 CE (25 th)		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya	Savaravalli	Sarveshvara	Yokkapayya nayaka	Land	The grant was entrusted to	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 14, p.

	Nanded dt.	Dec.)			VI			Muttavagunda , Singavagunda, Sovavagunda, Mallavagunda & others	Certain grants	Brahmarasipa ndita	222
65	Dongargaon, Pusad taluka, Yeotmal dt.	1112 CE (15 th March)	On the architrave of the shrine doorway of a dilapidated temple	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Paramara- Jagaddeva	Dongargaon	Shiva	King	Village Dongargrama	The grant was made to the Brahmana Shrinivasa, who made the Shiva temple	Mirashi 1941-42
66	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1113 CE (19 th March)	Engraved in continuation of the earlier inscription of 1102 CE	Kannada	Later Chalukya- (Vikramaditya VI)	Karadkhed	Someshvar a	Mahamandale shvara Madanakarnar asa	Income of the village Aluru for i) worship	The village of Aluru was secured as Samantike (fief)	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 15, p. 223
67	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	Irregular (1076- 1126 CE)	Engraved on the same pillar as the above inscription	Kannada	Later Chalukya- (Vikramaditya VI)	Karadkhed	Svaymbhu- Somanatha	Mahamandale shvara (name lost)	Village Nerilage for i) worship ii) feeding iii) education	The grant was entrusted to Chandrashekh ara-pandita.	ARIE 1958-59, No. 190, p. 47
68	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	Irregular (1076- 1126 CE)	Engraved on the same pillar as the above inscription	Kannada	Later Chalukya- (Vikramaditya VI)	Karadkhed	Svaymbhu- Somanatha, Doreshvara deva, Kalichores varadeva & Prasannabh airavadeva	Mahamandale shvara Karkkarasa	Construction of these temples Land for i) worship ii) offerings iii) repairs iv) feeding of ascetics v) education		ARIE 1958-59, No. 187, p. 47
69	Sagroli, Biloli taluka, Nanded dt.	1113 CE (19 th March)		Kannada	Not mentioned		Someshvar a	Gavundas & other dignitaries	Money & oil for i) <i>nandadipa</i>		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 17, pp. 223-224
70	Sagroli, Biloli taluka, Nanded dt.	1113 CE (19 th March)		Kannada	Not mentioned		Someshvar a	Rebbaladevi	Some incomes		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 14, p. 222
71 & 72	Akkalkot, Solapur dt.	1114 CE (25 th Dec.)	Slab kept in the shed in the compound of the Nazar Bag of the old palace	Kannada- Sanskrit	Later Chalukya- Vikramaditya VI	Karanjige	Siddha- Gajjeshvara deva	Mahamandale shvara Indarasa of Shilahara family, Bhoji- abbarasi, nurse of Kumara Tailapadeva and in charge of taxes,	100 <i>mattara</i> land with all the privileges in the village Karanjige i) 50 <i>mattara</i> for the renovation & decoration of the image ii) 50 <i>mattara</i> for the expense of <i>Matha</i>		Desai P. B. 1947- 48 Akkalkot Inscription of Silahara Indrarasa, EI, Vol. XXVII, 65- 74 Panchamukhi 1951, No. 12, 38- 48

		1210 CE (16 th Aug.)			Yadava- Singhanadeva			<p><i>Dandanayaka</i> Prabhu Kesarinayaka & his son</p> <p>People in the street of the temple</p> <p>Prabhu Kesarinayaka</p> <p>Mahapasayita Mandalika Katiyanna</p> <p>Ranadhavalam ayya</p>	<p>a) 2 oil-mills for a perpetual lamp b) 2 <i>mattara</i> land for a garden c) 25 betel leaves per load brought, wherever unloaded in the surrounding region</p> <p>10 <i>mattara</i> land</p> <p>50 <i>mattara</i> of paddy field Another grant of 2 <i>mattara</i> of garden land to the south of the temple & a house-site of 7 hands</p> <p>50 <i>mattara</i> land & a house- site</p>		
73	Sagroli, Biloli taluka, Nanded dt.	1115 CE (13 th July)		Kannada	Not mentioned	Savaravalli	Sarveshvar adeva	Pasayita Okkarasa, an officer of Ballavarasa	Some grants for the offering	The grant was entrusted to Bammarasi- pandita	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 18, p. 224
74	Adampur, Biloli taluka, Nanded dt.	1116 CE (23 rd Jan.)		Kannada	Later Chalukaya- Vikramaditya VI		Mulasthan	Siripatinayaka , <i>Bhanasaverge</i> <i>de</i> (steward), <i>Manevergade</i> (chamberlain), <i>Dandanayaka</i> Anantapalayya, another officer (name lost) of <i>Mahamandale</i> <i>shvari</i> Rebbaladevi & <i>prabhus</i> of Kulige	3 <i>gadyan</i> (every year), which formed part of tax on the land for i) worship ii) offering		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 19, pp. 224-225
75	Herle,	1118 CE		Kannada	Shilahara-	Vagubana-	Chandrapra	King	1 <i>mattara</i> land in Edenada	The grant was	Mirashi 1977,

	Karavir taluka, Kolhapur dt.				Gandaraditya	Herilage (Herle)	bha (Jaina)		and a garden	entrusted to Muni Shantivira-siddhantadeva , Acharya of temple at Kolhapur. The temple was erected by one Nemagavunda	pp. 221-224
76	Hottul, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1120 CE (24 th Oct.)		Kannada	Not mentioned		Svyambhu Rebbeshvaradeva	Birarasa	Toll income of Pottala & Madanuru		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 22, p. 226
77	Akkalkot, Solapur dt.	1122 CE (10 th Sep. or 27 th Aug.)	Slab in the old palace	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya VI	Daithana	Kandarpeshvara & Keshavadeva	Mahamandale shvara Indarasa Dakarasa <i>Dandanayaka</i> Madhavabhata <i>Dandanayaka</i> Mahadevarasa (Madhavabhata?) & Indarasa	All land at Sinnikheda except the land previously donated to the temple Malleshvara by Vikramaditya VI & 100 + 200 <i>gadyan</i> . 50 <i>mattara</i> land in a field at Daithana for worship & offerings 500 <i>mattara</i> land (with specified services out of fixed area), a site at Astigolla, 3 gardens & 2 oil-mills 60 <i>mattara</i> land to one Masanoja for the service of ringing a bell at the time of incense burning	These two temples were constructed by <i>Dandanayaka</i> Madhavabhata. He also established a Brahmana settlement at Sinnikheda.	Panchamukhi 1951, No. 16, pp. 62-71
78	Bembra, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1122 CE (6 th Dec.)	On two faces of a pillar	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Vikramaditya VI		Revaneshvara	Suggaladevi, queen of Vikramaditya VI Nagaraja Mahamandaleshvara Ereyamarasa	15 <i>mattara</i> land Oil-mills & land for lamp, worship & offerings Village Nagarahalu		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 23, pp. 226-227
79	Umrani,	1123 CE	Slab in the	Kannada	Later Chalukya-		Hemmeshv	Mahamandale	Lands, garden, toll-incomes		Panchamuhi

	Sangli dt.	(22 nd Jan.) 1141 CE (24 th March)	Hemalinga temple		Vikramaditya VI		ara	shvara Hemmadideva , his queen Chandaladevi & sons Dolarasadeva & Vanasimhadeva	& oil-mill at the capital Umbaravani for i) repair ii) renovation iii) feeding of the ascetics	The charge of entire establishment of the temple along with the <i>vritti</i> was handed over to acharya Chandrabhara napanditadeva in 1141 CE	1951, No. 14, pp. 51-59
80	Kolhapur	1126 CE (26 th June)	Copper-plates	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Shilahara-Gandaraditya		Khedaditya deva ('three-spired' temple)	King	6 <i>nivartana</i> land, a house-site of 24 cubits together with the 8-fold rights of enjoyment & another house-site of 48 cubits Of this, 400 <i>vappaka</i> land & a house of 6 cubits was given to each of the eight Brahmanas, who were in charge of the temple. 400 <i>vappaka</i> land was for the repairs of the temple 2 <i>nivartana</i> land was for the food of 12 Brahmanas (food items are specified)	The temple was built by Mahapradhan Maillapayya after repairing the dilapidated temple of Khedaditya. He installed icons of Brahma and Vishnu.	Mirashi 1977, No. 48, pp. 224-229
81	Mardi, North Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1127 CE (17 th Oct.)	Slab lying near the well Damaged	Kannada	Not mentioned		Gatrishvara	Some officers	Money from <i>Pannaya</i> tax, probably on betel-leaves	The grant was entrusted to saint Anandajiya	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 6, p. 147
82	Dhabadev, Shirpur taluka, Dhule dt.	Around 1128 CE	Slab near a ruined temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava-Melugideva		Kondaivva goddess	King	Construction of a <i>Matha</i> , a temple & a well		Tulpule 1963, No. 64, pp. 341-343
83	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1130 CE (4 th Oct.)	Engraved in continuation of the earlier inscription of 1088 CE	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara III	Karadkhed	Svaymbhu Somanatha	Mahamandale shavra Ereyamarasa	Villages Gukkave, Hippalagave & Borigave		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 28, p. 229
84	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1130 CE (25 th Dec.)	Engraved on a pillar in Mahadeva	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara III	Probably Karadkhed	Somanatha	Mahamandale shavra Anesahani	Income from the <i>Bannigedere</i> tax of the villages Aluru, Gavudagave,		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 29, pp. 230-231

			temple					Hemmadiyarsa	Kavaligave, Dayasavalige, Gukkave, Borigave, Nerilige & Hippalagave in Avaravadi 700 and of village Bhagigave in Sakkarage 80.		
85	Mangalvedha, Solapur dt.	Around 1132 CE	Slab (found from jungle called, Dhavalagiri, outside Mangalvedha	Kannada-Marathi/Kannada-Nagari	Kalachuri-Pemardideva		Probably Narayanadeva	King	50 <i>nivartana</i> land on the occasion of Lakshahoma performed in the temple of Narayanadeva		Tulpule 1963, No. 65, pp. 384-387
86	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1133 CE (2 nd Aug.)	Engraved in continuation of the inscription of 1130 CE	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara III	Probably Karadkhed	Somanatha	<i>Dandanayaka</i> Shridharayya	Income from his fief of the village Bhayigave in Sakkarage 80 for i) worship ii) repairs iii) education		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 30, pp. 230-231
87	Yeragi, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1134 CE (23 rd July)		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara III		Keshavdeva	<i>Mahajanas</i> , prabhus, <i>nakaras</i> & all residents of the <i>agrahara</i> Erige, Tadaguru, Sirimalige & Bavaragave, the managing body of the school and the <i>Mahajanas</i> of Brahmapuri Acharasa, brother of Vennamayyan ayaka, the <i>Mahajanas</i> , <i>Prabhu</i> Vishnudeva & others	Certain grants Land for i) worship & offering ii) maintenance of the priest iii) repairs & white-washing		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 31, pp. 231-232
88	Dharmapuri Bid dt.	1134 CE (23 rd July)	Slab	Sanskrit/Nagari	Later Chalukya-Someshvara III	Probably Dharmapuri	Murari	Panchanagara Nagar & Desinga	7 <i>gadyan</i> annually for various services Revenues on various organisations such as mint, betel-leaf shop, market of grains, shops of iron-	The king's official Shripati built the <i>Matha</i> of Murari (evidently at Dharmapuri)	Kolte 1987, No. 9, pp. 118-143

								Guild of Lad community	workers, market of mangoes?, money lenders' market, guild of oil merchants, retailers, horse market, sacrifice land and on the sale of areca-nuts, ghee, chilli, grain and toll tax. Few people (names specified) gave money and land.	to which these donations were given	
89	Kolhapur	1135 CE (29 th Oct.)	On stone in front of the Parshvanatha temple near Shukravar gate.	Kannada	Shilahara-Gandaraditya	Kavadegolla	Parshvanatha (Jaina)	Guild of Vira Bananjus (names of the merchants specified)	Certain revenues in kind on various items like areca-nuts, betel-leaves, ghee & oil, cotton, green ginger, turmeric, dry ginger, garlic, cumin, black pepper, mustard, salt, 18 kinds of grain, dry & fresh fruits, flowers and on potters, carpenters, cloth-merchant & goldsmith's shop for i) eight-fold worship ii) renovation iii) provision of food for the ascetics staying in the temple	The temple was constructed by <i>Mahasamanta</i> Nimbadevaras a in the market place of the town. The grant was entrusted to Shrutakirti Traividyadeva, who was the priest of the Jaina temple of Rupanarayana at Kollapura	Barnett 1927-28
90	Solapur	1135 CE (22 nd Dec.)		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara III	Sonnaligera	Kanneshvara, Chatteshvara & Mallikarjuna (<i>trikuta Shivalaya</i>)	Kalachuri Bijjala II	Land	The temple was built by Kannapayyana yaka, who was the <i>Mahapradhan</i> of Bijjala and at whose request the grant was made	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 9, pp. 149-150
91	Andur, Tuljapur taluka, Osmanabad dt.	1136 CE (28 th Sep.)	On the same slab as the earlier inscription of 1107 CE	Kannada Damamged	Later Chalukya-Someshvara III	Anadur	Manikeshvara	Queen Rajaladevi	Some grant for a perpetual lamp		ARIE 1962-63, No. 746, p. 132
92	Aurad,	12 th	Slab	Kannada	Later Chalukya-	Avaravadi		Mahapradhan	a) Construction of a ' <i>trikuta</i> '		Ritti & Kumbhar

	South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	century CE (1126-1138 CE)			Someshvara III			Vaijarasa	temple b) Grants of land to the temple c) Grants of land to the preists		1988, No. 8, pp.148-149
93	Jogeshvari cave, Mumbai	1137 CE (5 th April)	Slab. The original find-spot is not known, but from the contents it appears to be in the vicinity of the Jogeshvari cave	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Shilahara-Aparaditya	Jogeshvari	Goddess Jogeshvari	King	Exemption from the house-tax, to 13 houses of persons associated with the temple such as in charge of the <i>Matha</i> , worshipper, gardener, potter etc.	Two persons were appointed as the trustees of the grant.	Mirashi 1977, No. 21, pp. 127-130
94	Yeragi, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1138 CE (1 st Sep.)		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara III	Erige	Keshavadeva	Mahamandale shvara Ereyamarasa	Land & a house-site at Ukkulagave for i) worship ii) feeding of the temple preist iii) repairs	The shrine was built by Vennamayyan ayaka in the temple of Nakhareshvara	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 32, p. 232
95	Dharmapuri Ambejogai taluka, Bid dt.	Undated (1138-1151 CE)		Kannada	Later Chalukya-Jagadekamalla II		Kaleshavar a	Demarasa, son of Mumjaraneya, the manneya of Mukuti	Land		ARIE 1961-62, No. 459, p. 93
96	Kolhapur	1139 AD (26 th June)	Slab	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Jagadekamalla II	Huvinabage-agrahara	Jaina (Marasinga settiya <i>basti</i>)	<i>Dandanayaka</i> Dasimarasa	30 <i>mattaras</i> of land and a garden for i) worship ii) offerings iii) feeding of asectics	The grant was made on an appeal from the <i>nakaras</i> of the place when the donor had come to witness the Jina-pujotsava	Gopal B R 1969, No 25, pp. 93-97
97	Anjaneri, Nasik taluka, Nasik dt.	1142 CE	Right wall of the <i>mandapa</i> of temple no. 2	Sanskrit/ Nagari	(Yadava)-Seunachandra	Anjaneri	Chandraprabha (Jaina)	King Merchants Vatsaraja, Lahada & Dasharatha	2 shops in the city (probably Anjaneri) for the maintenance of the temple A shop, a house & investment of 5 <i>dramma</i> for the maintenance of the temple		Indraji 1883, pp. 126-129
98	Kolhapur	1143 CE	On stone in	Kannada	Shilahara-	Havina-	Parshvanat	King	A field measuring a quarter	The temple	Mirashi 1977,

		(1 st Feb.)	front of the Parshvanatha temple near Shukravar gate.		Mahamandales hvara Vijayadityadeva	Herilage (not identified, there is one Hiralage in Gadhinglaj taluka)	ha (Jaina)		<i>nivarttana</i> & a house measuring 12 <i>hasta</i> in the village Havina-Herilage for i) eight-fold worship ii) repairs iii) provision of food for the ascetics	was built by Vasudeva, the betel-box carrier of samanta Kamadeva	pp. 246-249
99	Ambejogai, Bid dt.	1144 CE (31 st Aug.)	Slab found in one of the cells of Hattikhana cave	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Unknown-Mahamandales hvara Udayaditya		Bhucharnat ha	King	i) 20 <i>gavyuti</i> land ii) 12 <i>gavyuti</i> land in Selu village (Selu, near Ambejogai) iii) 3 <i>nivarttana</i> land having salavan (growing rice) & dande (growing <i>bajra</i> , <i>jowar</i> etc.) in Radi (Radi, near Selu) iv) land in Javalaganv (Javalgaon near Ambejogai) v) 12 <i>gadyan</i> to the priest vi) 5 <i>gavyuti</i> land in Kumbhaipal (Kumbhephala, near Ambejogai) vii) 35 bulls viii) One <i>kavada</i> revenue on each shop in the market ix) 1 ladle oil from each oil-mill x) A flower garden xi) An orchard	It is said that whoever would obstruct the grant would be struck by the <i>vajradanda</i> of yoginis.	Dikshit M. G. 1951, No. 8, pp. 57-61
100	Bhandak, Varoda taluka, Chandrapur dt.	1146 CE (15 th Nov.)	Slab, found from the Naganatha temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Not mentioned	Probably Bhandak	Shri Narayana	A Pawar	Renovation of the temple	The temple was built by one Jashanayaka	Tulpule 1963, No. 6, pp. 37-42
101	Karadkhed, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1148 CE (19 th May)	Engraved in continuation of the inscription of 1113 CE	Kannada Damaged	Later Chalukya-Jagadekamalla II			Mahapradhana and Manevergade	Details are lost		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 34, p. 234
102	Yeragi, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	1149 CE (9 th Dec.)		Kannada	Not mentioned but could be ascribed to the reign of Later Chalukyan king Jagadekamalla II	Erige	Mulasthan	Mahamandale shvara Ereyamarasa	Land for i) worship & offering ii) repairs		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 35, p. 235
103	Desinga Borgaon,	1150 CE (20 th)	Slab, found near	Sanskrit-Kannada/	Later Chalukya-Jagadekamalla	Borigram (Borgaon)	Parshvanat ha (Jaina)	<i>Mahmandales hvara</i>	200 <i>kamma</i> land, a garden & house measuring 5 cubits, to	The temple was built by	Kolte 1987, No. 20, pp. 315-330

	Kavathe Mahamkala taluka, Sangli dt.	Feb.)	Mahadeva temple	Kannada				<p>Bijjaladeva Lakkhanadeva , (the village official), Nandiyanna Savant (central ruling official & chief revenue collector), Kappa Gavunda</p> <p>500 Svami Settigutta Pemma Gavunda, Shaudhor Mahalkari & a local shresthi</p> <p>Bijjala's revenue official Revana nayaka & Lakhamraje</p>	<p>the east of the temple for i) repair ii) provision of food to the ascetics</p> <p>Revenues on commodities such as cotton, salt, betel-leaves, areaca-nuts, rice and a <i>haga</i> on each family of <i>Shresthi</i> in Borigram. An oil-mill, a shop & a house for a servant, from the revenue on the sale of horses for i) perpetual lamp</p> <p>1/4th of the revenue on the sale of the horses</p>	<p>Ketal Gavunda.</p> <p>The grant was made over to Munichandra Siddhantdeva.</p>	
104	Garasoli, Ambejogai taluka, Bid dt.	1150 CE (13 th May)	On a Shiva icon on the doorway of a Shiva temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Unknown-Mahamandales hvara Udayaditya	Probably present temple at Garasoli	Rajdityadeva	<p>Mahapradhan Devarasa</p> <p>Officials of <i>Mahapradhan</i> Devarasa</p>	<p>Construction of the temple</p> <p>i) 20 <i>nivarttana</i> land for worship ii) 20 <i>nivarttana</i> land for <i>angabhoga</i> iii) 1 orchard for worship iv) Amount of 10 <i>taka</i> for the worship on Sundays v) 1 <i>mudavan</i> (currency) on each oil-mill for the lamp</p>		Pathan 1989, No. 2, pp. 3-7
105	Bamani, Kagal taluka, Kolhapur dt.	1150 CE (8 th Sep.)	On the stone near the door of a Jaina temple, now	Sanskrit-Kannada/Kannada	Shilahara-Mahamandales hvara Vijayadityadev	Bamani	Parshvanatha (Jaina)	King	<p>A field measuring a quarter <i>nivarttana</i> and a house measuring 12 hastas in the village Madalura (Madur,</p>		Mirashi 1977, pp. 250-253

			in the Jaina temple near Shukravar gate at Kolhapur		a				Bhudargad taluka, Kolhapur dt.) for i) eight-fold worship ii) repairs iii) provision of food for the ascetics		
106	Kolhapur	First half of the 12 th century CE	On the beams of the <i>mandapa</i> of the Sheshashayi temple	Kannada	Shilahara-Gandaraditya	Kolhapur	Adinatha (Jaina)	Nimbadeva (Same person as the one Nimbarasa, who built Rupanarayana temple)	Construction of the temple	The temple is described as extensive & beautiful with excellent merchants' quarters with courtesans	Mirashi 1977, No. 50, pp. 235-239
107	Patne, Jalgaon dt.	1153-54 CE		Sanskrit/Nagari	Nikumbha-Indraraja		Madana-dahana (Shiva)	King Prince Govana	Construction of the temple Village Devasamgama		Buhler 1879
108	Chikurde, Islampur taluka (formerly Walwa taluka), Sangli dt.	Undated 1154 CE?	Copper-plate Found from a Dhangar family at the village	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Later Chalukya?-Janamejay?		Mulasthan	King (while camped near the temple of Karahatkamba leshvaradeva after <i>digvijay</i> in south)	Ornaments, white umbrella, chisel, large drum, horn, fly-whisk, conch, a bard, a dancer etc. Land to the god & a group of people, probably associated with the temple such as horsemen, actors, <i>devadasi</i> , goldsmiths, brahmanas, kshatriyas, washermen, barbers, fishermen, gardeners, farmers, untouchables? etc Few more donations are recorded, but it is not clear to whom were they granted.	The inscription begins with an invocation to the varahavatara of Vishnu	Tulpule 1963, No. 61, pp. 319-326
109	Probably from Miraj	Undated Around 1154 CE	Copper-plates	Sanskrit-Kannada-Marathi/Nagari	Later Chalukya-Satyasraya (Taila III)		Mulsthan, Jaina temple, Mailardeva	King (while encamped near temple of Kopeshvaradeva after <i>digvijay</i> from south)	i) 600 sq hands land to Mulsthana ii) 400 sq hands land to Jaina temple iii) 200 sq hands land to Mailardeva Land to a group of people, probably associated with a temple such as <i>devadasi</i> , gardener, goldsmith, brahmanas, doorkeepers,		Tulpule 1963, No. 63, pp. 334-340

									barber, untouchables? etc.		
110	Kolhapur	Undated (1151- 1156 CE)	Slab	Kannada	Later Chalukya- Trailokyamalla Satyasraya (Taila III)		Shankeshva ra	Shankara, army chief	Construction of the temple	Probably refers to the donation of tax-free land by one Ramasetti for the repair of the temple	Kundangar 1939, No. 11, pp. 38-41 & 99-101
111	Kolhapur	1154 CE (21 st Dec.)	Copper plates	Kannada	Shilahara- Vijayaditya	Kolhapur	Shantinatha -Jaina	Kuchirajaya (Minister under previous ruler Gandaraditya) King Vijayaditya	Construction of the temple Grant: Land & house-site for i) worship ii) repairs iii) feeding of the ascetics Reconfirmation of the grant	The plates record the reconfirmation of the earlier grant by the king. The grant was made at the request of chief minister, who was the son of Kuchirajaya.	IAR 1982-83, No 18, p. 121, Kanti M. N. 1987
112	Veture, Vengurle taluka, Sindhudurg dt.	1155 CE	Slab in the temple of Somesvara Fragmentary	Marathi/ Nagari	Not mentioned		Someshvar a	Marayanadeva Somadeva	Installation of the deity		Tulpule 1963, No. 9, pp. 51-52
113	Chiplun, Ratnagiri dt.	1156 CE (24 th April)	Slab, found under a wall. It was a part of a pillar	Corrupt Sanskrit- Marathi/ Nagari	Shilahara- Mahamandales hvaradhipati Mallikarjuna				Gift of a <i>prasada</i> (temple)	Names of various ministers of the king are given	Dikshit M. G. 1944
114 & 115	Bhalvani Vita taluka (formerly Khanapur taluka), Sangli dt.	1156 CE (15 th Nov.) 1170 CE (8 th May)	Slab	Kannada	Later Chalukya- Tailapa Kalachuri- Soyideva	Bhalavani	Gavareshva ra	<i>Mahapradhan</i> & accounts officer Sovananayak, accountant Chavananayak & Nagadevanaya k Kalidevathya nayak, servant of <i>Mahamandale</i> <i>shvara</i> Siddhaya	200 <i>kamma</i> land for i) worship with incense, lamp, offering etc. ii) renovation A flower-garden (from the temple of Somanatha at Brahmapuri), an oil-mill & a house for devadasis 100 <i>kamma</i> land near aforementioned donated land & 10 flower gardens		Kolte 1987, No. 21(1), pp. 331- 348

								Trading guilds such as 500 svami Ayyavole, Gavare, Gatriga, Setti, Settigutta, Bira, Biravaniga, Gavunda, Gaundasvami, Settis of 36 cities, Mummuridan da Tailors Weavers	Revenues, both in cash & kind, on commodities such as pepper, areca nut, cotton, spices, turmeric etc. Revenue on a type of goods 1 <i>dharana</i> annually		
116	Palasdev, Indapur taluka, Pune dt.	1157 CE (20 th March) or 1158 CE (10 th March)	On a pillar in Saradeshvar temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Not mentioned	Probably Palasdev	Vishnu	<i>Dandanayak</i> Shri Changadeva Basavan Upadhyay's son Bhai	Construction of the temple i) 1000 gold pieces ii) tax-free land		Tulpule 1963, No. 11, pp. 59-62 Kosambi 1963
117	Savargaon, Tuljapur taluka, Osmanabad dt.	Around 1158 CE	Slab, found on the bank of a well Fragmentary	Marathi/ Nagari	Later Chalukya-Tailapa III	Savargaon	Gundeshvara	Shripatinayaka	Either renovated the temple or renewed an old grant, which was an endowment on monthly basis for the incense, lamp etc. & was probably given by Chalukyan king Someshvara I		Tulpule 1963, No. 66, pp. 348-349
118	Bassein, Bassein taluka, Thane dt.	1162 CE	Slab	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Shilahara-Mallikarjuna		Shiva	<i>Rajguru</i> Vedashiva & Bhopaka Vyomashiva	Repairs	The inscription also records few other donations	Mirashi 1977, No. 29, pp. 153-156
119	Vangi, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1162 CE (8 th Dec.)	In the Mahadeva temple	Kannada	Kalachuri-Bijjala II		Mulasthan Shri Bhimeshvaradeva	<i>Mahapradhan</i> Reyimayya <i>Dandanayaka</i> Guild of 500 Svamis of Ayyavole	Land & house sites Income obtained by the sale of several commodities like paddy, turmeric, betel-		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 14, pp. 152-153

									leaves, betel nuts, salt, ghee, oil etc.		
120	Ter, Osmanabad taluka, Osmanabad dt.	1163 CE (18 th April) Damage d	Slab, resting against the plinth of Maruti temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Not mentioned, but possibly Kalachuri-Bijjala				i) 40 <i>nivarttana</i> tax-free land with continuous income to the <i>Mahajanas</i> associated with the temple ii) three fields to the temple iii) 4 <i>nivarttana</i> land from the chief <i>Mahajana</i> for the offering		Tulpule 1963, No. 12, pp. 63-67
121	Kamati Khurd, Mohol taluka, Solapur dt.	1164 CE (25 th Jan.)	Slab	Kannada	Kalachuri-Bijjala		Simgeshvara	Goyiyasavanta of Kammatige	Land, garden, a house & an oil-mill		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 15, p. 153
122	Savargaon, Tuljapur taluka, Osmanabad dt.	1164 CE (19 th Sep.)	Slab in the Mallikarjuna temple	Marathi/Nagari	Kadamba-Mahamandaleshvara Marudadeva Ranak		Ambadevi	Bhali Madhavnayak & Lahipanayak	20 th part of the field or the 20 th part of the produce of the field 2 <i>dramma</i>		Tulpule 1963, No. 13, pp. 68-71
123 & 124	Kumbhari, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt. (east of Solapur, now part of town)	1165 CE (12 th Feb.) 1167 CE (30 th Sep.)	Slab, found in the Balleshvara temple Partly broken	Kannada	Kalachuri-Bijjala I		Balleshvara	<i>Manneya</i> Vijayaditya <i>Dandanayaka</i> Nakarasa & other officers <i>Dandanayaka</i> Vennaparasa <i>Mahaprabhu</i> & <i>Gavundas</i> Goydarasa, tax-collector of Anamduru 300	Land Land Land 1 <i>gadyan</i> from every village in Kumbarigave 60 Money from Perjumka (a major tax) from the division of Anamduru		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 16, pp. 154-155
125 & 126	Umrani, Sangli dt.	1166 CE (1 st May)	Slab, in Hemalinga temple Damaged	Kannada	Kalachuri-Bijjala		Hemmeshvara & Chandalleshvara	<i>Dandanayaka</i> Madhuvanayaka, other <i>karnas</i> & <i>Mahamandaleshvara</i> Hemmadidevarasa	55 <i>mattar</i> land & oil-mills for i) repairs & renovations ii) perpetual lamp		Panchamukhi 1951, No. 26, pp. 95-102

		1174 CE (1 st June)			Kalachuri- Soyideva		Hemmeshv ara	Kappadeva- Gopatidandan ayaka & other <i>karnas</i>	12 <i>mattar</i> land for i) repair ii) provision of food for the ascetics		
127	Malakavathe, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1166 CE (10 th Oct.)	Slab	Kannada	Kalachuri- Bijjala		Jaina	Rambhadevi, queen of Bijjala 500 Svamis, Mummuridan das & Ubhayananade shis Govindarasa- <i>Dandanayaka</i> & <i>Sunkavergade</i> (tax collector) of Ananduru 300 Settiguttas of Mandubbe	Land & an oil-mill for a perpetual lamp <i>Jawar</i> , salt, betel-nut etc. Some commodities Some grants		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 17, pp. 155-156
128	Shivani, North Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1171 CE (15 th Oct.)	Slab, found near the Hanuman temple	Kannada	Kalachuri- Soyideva	Shrisaila (Andhra Pradesh)	Mallikarjun a	King & the queen Haraladevi	Village Shivanige in Telara 40 in Ananduru 300 for i) offerings		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 19, p. 157
129	Madgrihal, Jat taluka, Sangli dt.	1172 CE (27 th Jan.)	Slab near Mahadeva temple	Kannada	Kalachuri- Soyideva, Sankama Yadava- Bhillama	Malige (Madgrihal)	Raya- Murari Somanatha and Bijjeshvara	Bijjaya Nayakar, <i>prabhhu</i> of Malige Whole population of Malige headed by Bijjaya Nayakar Fiscal officers of Tankadunad Few higher	Construction of two temples Land, oil-mill, garden, a building (?) & some land for i) enjoyment and theatrical entertainment of the god ii) repair iii) provision of food for ascetics Taxes in cash & kind Taxes in cash & kind	The establishment of the temple was handed over to the ascetic Kalyanadeva, disciple of Lokabharana.	Barnett 1919-20

								<p>officers & merchants</p> <p>Maidunara Valayya, controller of Tankadunad</p> <p>Kambhaya Nayaka, attendant of the Stables</p> <p>General Lakhhana by the order of officer of Yadava Bhillama</p> <p>People of the country & Mummuridan das</p> <p>Kavutta Gavuds & Rechaya Nayaka, controllers of salt</p>	<p>An estate</p> <p>An estate, a garden & a house</p> <p>A field of 50 <i>mattara</i></p> <p>Tax in kind</p> <p>Salt-pan</p>		
130	Bhalavani, Khanapur taluka, Sangli dt.	1173 CE (26 th May)		Kannada	Kalachuri-Soyideva	Probably Bhalavani	Jaina	Head of Nagar, Prabhu, Pattana Setti & Panuv nayaka, the head of the traders	Land for i) worship with flowers, lamp, offering, incense etc.	Bhalvani is mentioned as capital city.	Kolte 1987, pp. 349-354
131 & 132	Bhivaghat, Satara dt.	1173 CE (17 th Dec.) 1176 to 1180 CE	Slab in the Bhimashankar temple at Aundh	Kannada	Kalachuri-Soyideva & Sankamdeva		Bhimeshvara Possibly to the same	<p>King</p> <p><i>Mahapradhan</i> of the king</p>	<p>2 <i>mattara</i> land in Karajay village for i) worship ii) repairs</p> <p>Land in Narvigave village</p>		Khare 1934, No. 19, pp. 71-74

133	Umadi, Jath taluka, Sangli dt.	1176 CE (26 th Feb)	Slab near the house of Ramanna Kulkarni at Umadi	Sanskrit- Kannada/Kan nada	Kalachuri- Soyideva		god	Jalashayi Anantanara yanadeva whose image had been installed in the midst of 12 Narayanas	<i>Mahapradhan</i> Mahavaddavy avahari Nagadevayyan ayaka along with <i>Muligas</i> , <i>Emtuhittu</i> , <i>Pamcha-</i> <i>Matha</i> -sthana, Aruvattokkalu and all the merchant guilds of the malige of Ummade	i) 25 <i>hiriya-mattara</i> land (of this 4 <i>mattara</i> to Ramayya, son of Narayana Upadhyaya as brahamana <i>vritti</i> and 2 <i>mattara</i> to the person providing flowers to the deity) ii) income of the <i>siddhaya</i> tax collected from the fields of Hosakote (not identified) excluding those which belonged to the brahmapuri created by the same donor) iii) 4 oil-mills iv) 1 garden v) income from <i>dasabandha</i> (1/10 th of the produce) tax from Hosakote vi) <i>siddhaya</i> tax from calf- pens vii) 1 <i>salike</i> per annum for transactions involving sale of calves viii) 2 <i>haga</i> from each shop ix) betel nuts- 20 from every buffalo-load, 10 from every donkey-load & 5 from every sack-load x) 1 <i>mana</i> of paddy from paddy sellers xi) 50 leaves per load from the body of the Thousand, the basket & mat makers's guild xii) oil from oil-men once in eight days xiii) 1 <i>salika</i> for the sale of each local horse xiv) 2 <i>haga</i> for the sale of each outside horse xv) 2 <i>haga</i> for each of the looms from the guild of weavers Purpose: <i>Gandha, dhupa, dipa,</i>	Ummade is described as desiya-pattana King Soyideva is stated to be ruling from Mangalvedha	Ramesh K. V. and Sharma M. J. 1974
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									<i>naivedya, chaitra, pavitramagabhogakkam</i>		
134 & 135	Kudal, S. Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1177 (21 st March) 1215 CE (12 th Nov.)	Broken slab near Sangameshwar temple		Kalachuri-Sankama (1175-80 CE) Yadava Singhana (1210-47 CE)		Sangameshvara	Sangamadeva Panchapradhan Mahapasayata Jaitya-sahani	2 villages for i) <i>angabhoga</i> , lamp, incense, <i>naivedya</i> , worship, repairs Probably land, made tax-free i) for the offerings etc.		IAR 1960-61 No. 38, p. 46 Kumbhar A. N. 2001a
136	Barshi Takli Akola dt.	1177 CE (7 th April) Fragmen tary	On the <i>mandapa</i> wall facing the entrance of Bhavani temple	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Unknown-Hemadrideva	Tekkali	Vishnu	Gamiyaya, minister of the king	Construction of the temple		Mirashi 1931-32, No. 21B
137	Apegaon-Khurd, Paithan Taluka, Aurangabad dt.	Undated around 1178 CE	On the innerside of the shrine doorsill of Vijnaneshvavara temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Not mentioned	Apegaon-Khurd	Vankanathdev	Kheidev, son of Padmana Pandit	Construction of the temple		Tulpule 1963, No. 74, pp. 376-378
138	Kolhapur	1179 CE	On the bank of Kotetirtha tank	Kannada	Shilahara-Bhojdeva		Shiva	King	Construction of the temple Grant of land near Kotetirtha for i) worship of 8 kinds ii) maintenance of the inhabitants		Graham 1854, No. 6, p. 382
139, 140 & 141	Mardi, Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1180 CE (20 th Oct.) 1187 CE (26 th Dec.)	Slab, found among the ruins of the Narasoba temple Damaged	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Kalachuri-Sankamadeva Yadava-Bhillama	Gavareshvarapur (probably a suburb of Mardi)	Yogeshvara Mahadeva	Yogeshvara Dhuyipaiya Nayak Kulkarni Govind, son of Yogeshvara Jaitrasimha (probably Yadava ruler Jaitugi)	Construction of the temple Two <i>vrattis</i> of 12 <i>nivartana</i> land & a house-site for the maintenance of the god Garden for the perpetual worship 50 <i>dandanivartana</i> land for i) repair & renovation ii) <i>anga, ranga, bhoga</i> 25 <i>nivartana</i> land	There is a reference to a <i>vratti</i> of another god Mudreshvara deva. Donated <i>vrattis</i> were bought from Vasugi setti, the coin minter 50 <i>dandanivartana</i> land was given to Yogeshvarade	Khare 1930, pp. 43-54

									iv) 2 houses free from tax	inscription of 1162 CE as one of the donors who renovated a temple	
145	Thane	1185 CE (17 th March)	Copper-plates from somewhere in Thane dt.	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Shilahara-Aparaditya II	Prabhas Patan, Gujarat	Somanatha deva	<i>Mahamatya</i> Lakshmanana yak	i) 4 <i>dramma</i> out of the proceeds of an orchard in Sthanakiya-pattana (Thane) on five holy occasions ii) 24 <i>dramma</i> out of the produce of the whole rice-field		Mirashi 1977, No. 31, pp. 158-161
146	Mandrup, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1186 CE (5 th April)	Stone slab (Kept in the hall of Malasiddha temple at Mandrup)	Kannada	Later Chalukya-Someshvara IV	Mandubbe (Mandrup) in Anandur 300	Kumbheshvara	<i>Heggard</i> Madaradarasa, <i>Dandanayaka</i> Tippana Nayak, Muliga, Saudore Senabob	12 <i>mattara</i> land i) For offering <i>Manda</i> (<i>Hala-mandage</i> -sweet wheat cake)		Kumbhar A. N. 2000
147	Kolhapur	1187 CE		Kannada	Shilahara-Bhojadeva	Ekanagavir (not identified)	Shantinatha (Jaina)	King	Korambi village in Miraj division for i) eight-fold worship ii) provision of food for monks	The grant was entrusted to Kumarkirti	Graham 1854
148	Parel, Mumbai dt. (originally found at the village Mahavali near Kurla, Mumbai)	1187 CE (26 th Jan.)	Slab	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Shilahara-Aparaditya II	Darbhavati (Dabhoi, Baroda dt., Gujarat)	Vaidyanatha	King	24 <i>dramma</i> out of the produce of the orchard of Anantapaiprabhu in the village Mahavali in Shatashashti <i>vishaya</i> for i) five-fold worship	The orchard was exempted from all additional subsidiary taxes	Mirashi 1977, No. 32, pp. 161-163
149	Mandrup, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1187 CE (4 th Sep.)	Slab, found in front of the Maruti temple	Kannada	Yadava-Bhillama V	Mandubbe	Siddheshvara	Vijjana Kheyideva, father of Vijjana	Village Ankulage on the bank of the river Sinne Appointment of musicians, drummers, dancers etc. & grants for their maintenance		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 23, pp. 158-159
150	Ambejogai, Bid dt.	Around 1188 CE	Slab built into the wall of Sangit Mosque Fragmentary	Marathi/ Nagari	Kalachuri or Yadava-Singhana		Bhogaditya deva	Davarasa, son of <i>Mahapradhan Dandanayak</i> Docharasa & prime minister of king	a) Construction of temple, <i>prakara</i> wall, <i>pattashala</i> & a <i>Matha</i> a) Land producing 10 <i>gadyan</i> for worship & maintenance		Tulpule 1963, No. 67, pp. 351-354
151	Pandharpur,	1189-90	Slab from	Marathi/	Not mentioned		Vitthal	<i>Mahajan</i> &	Foundation of the temple		Tulpule 1963,

		1279 CE (31 st Aug.)	Kolhapur branch Spurious	Marathi/ Nagari	Shilahara- Haripaladeva			Ramada & Jakhana, <i>Mandalikas</i>	associated with the temple) Renovation of the temple	was not to be interfered by royal servants	
157	Jambgaon, Solapur dt.	1195 CE	Slab in the Hanuman temple	Kannada	Yadava- Jaitugi I	Sonnalige	Kapila- Siddha- Mallikarjun adeva	Padmanabha <i>Dandanayaka</i>	Village Jambugave for i) worship & offerings	The donor's father, described as senadhipati hailed from Kasmiradesa	IAR 1964-65 No. 53, p. 60
158	Nandui, Thane dt.	1197 CE (6 th Nov.)	Slab	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Shilahara- Aparaditya		Someshvar a	King	Village Satuli (Sativali, near Manikpur) inclusive of its grass, wood & water	The grant was entrusted to Vedangarasika , the priest of the temple	Mirashi 1977, No. 63, pp. 280- 282
159	Hanamgaon, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	12 th century CE Damage d	Slab, found on the Nandistambha of the Maruti temple	Kannada	Yadava- Jaitugi I		Jaina		Land in different village like Sonnalige, Kumbarigave & Mandalagave for the maintenance of the temple		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 24, pp. 159-160
160	Solapur	12 th century CE Fragmen tary	Slab, from Solapur fort	Kannada	Not mentioned	Sonnalige	Kapilasiddh a- Mallikarjun a	Nanadeshi Mummuridan das consisting of a number of <i>settis</i> (names specified), including those from Banavase 12000, Halasuge 12000, Arasiyabidu etc.	Income from the taxes collected from Anamdura 300		ARIE 1963-64, App. B No. 317, p. 86
161	Solapur	12 th century CE Fragmen tary	Slab, from Solapur fort	Kannada	Not mentioned	Probably Sonnalige	Mallikarjun a		Land for conducting services		ARIE 1963-64, App. B No. 318, p. 86
162	Dharmapuri, Bid dt.	12 th century CE	On a slab in the inner fortification wall	Kannada			Jaina		Some grants		IAR 1984-85, No. 27, p. 134
163	Patoda,	12 th	Engraved to	Marathi/	Not mentioned		Sangamesh			It is an order	Pathan 1989, No.

	Bid dt.	century CE	the right of the entrance doorway of Sangameshvara temple	Nagari			vara			stating that the produce of the <i>vritti</i> given to the temple should not be used by others	76, pp.166-167
164	Junni, Biloli taluka, Nanded dt.	12 th century CE	Engraved on three faces of a pillar	Kannada	Kalachuri-name is lost	Probably Junnavalige			Land		Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 39, p. 236
165	Devapur, Deglur taluka, Nanded dt.	12 th century CE		Kannada	Not mentioned		Keshavadeva		Land for the offerings	The temple was built by Vennamayya nayak	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 37, pp. 235-236
166	Honnur, Kagal taluka, Kolhapur dt.	12 th century CE	On the pedestal of a Jaina image in the <i>basti</i>	Kannada	Not mentioned		Jaina	Barmagavunda	Construction of <i>basti</i> and installation of the image of Parshvanatha	Donor was the disciple of a Jaina nun, Ratrimatikanti	Ritti & Karavirkar 2000, No. 36, p. 144
167	Pulunj, Pandharpur taluka, Solapur dt.	1200 CE (28 th Jan.)	Slab, outside a small north-facing shrine to the south of main Shiva temple	Sanskrit-Kannada	Yadava-Singhana	Pulunj	Siddhasomadeva	<i>Mahajanas</i> Ammugidevarasa King Jatalatta (daughter of Devapamaleya), Sankeya Sahanideveya, Sahani Dayiya nayak & Kumar Soyideva Bijjarana, Gangideva, Sankamdeva, Kheyideva &	Two <i>vritti</i> & a house A path A garden Investment of 6 <i>gajamalla gadyan</i> at the rate of the interest of 1 <i>dramma</i> annually with the same <i>Mahajanas</i> , who were to provide food (probably to Brahmanas) every year on a particular day Village Itthe (Eeteh, near Pulunj) 100 <i>mattara</i> land in the village Itthe A forest or an orchard of particular trees in the same village	The village was entrusted to Abhungidevarasa	Khare 1934, No. 18, pp. 56-71

								Joyideva			
								Mahamandale shvara Vikramaditya	i) 100 <i>mattara</i> land in the village Soijana (Sowduneh, near Pulunj) ii) A garden iii) A path iv) A house for storing various grains		
								Mahapradhan Simeya Sahani	i) 100 <i>mattara</i> land in the village Kuruvagale (Kurul, near Pulunj) ii) A house iii) A path		
								Royal hunter Tipureya nayak	i) 26 (?) <i>mattara</i> land in the village Deganv (Dehgaon, near Pulunj) ii) A house iii) A garden		
								Raisetti & Gadambherun da Joisetti	i) 26 (?) <i>kol mattara</i> land in the village Koravalli (Kuroli, near Pulunj) ii) A path iii) A house for storing fodder iv) A garden at Chinchavali (Chincholi Phool, near Pulunj)		
								<i>Mahapradhan</i> Isayya nayak	i) A path ii) A <i>vritti</i> iii) A well of <i>yakshi</i> iv) A garden v) A house		
								Shrivaman Nayak	i) A garden & a house in the village Tungutuha (Tungat, near Pulunj)		
								Shrimant Lahideva nayak & Tamyya nayak	i) 12 <i>mattara</i> land in Porganv (Pohargaon, near Pulunj)		
168	Jalgaon,	1202 CE	Copper-plate	Marathi/	Not mentioned-		Satyeshvara	Jaitra Savant	Produce of the trees valuing	The <i>agrahara</i>	Tulpule 1963,

	Dapoli taluka, Ratnagiri dt.	(24 th Feb.)		Nagari	Jaitra Samanta		deva		120 <i>dramma</i> from the <i>agrahara</i> of 300 betel-nut trees at Ghonasaviri <i>agrahara</i> in Athagav Velita for i) door ? (probably for the repair)	was given to Govinda Kavi along with eight rights. Jaitra Savant bought the <i>agrahara</i> in 300 <i>dramma</i>	No. 18, pp. 93-95
169	Mandavi, Vasai taluka, Thane dt.	1203 CE (29 th Jan.)	Slab	Marathi mixed with Sanskrit/ Nagari	Shilahara-Keshideva II	Mandavali (Mandavi)	Lakshmi-Narayana	Soma Thakur	Some donations	The temple was built by Lakshmidhar, <i>Mahamatya</i> of the king	Tulpule 1963, No. 19, pp. 98-99
170	Akkalkot, Solapur dt.	1204 CE (16 th Nov.)	Slab in the old Palace	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II	Samantanadh udunige (Satanadudhani, around 14 km south of Akkalkot)	Mallikarjuna	Soyideva nayak, brother-in-law of Mahapradhan Sangamadeva nayak, Hiriyakkapparasa, Indiya nayak & Indaya	Land and garden for i) worship with incense, lamp, offerings etc.	The temple of Mallikarjuna is still present at Satandudhani	Panchamukhi 1951, No. 32, pp. 119-120
171	Satarda, Sawantwadi taluka, Sindhudurg dt.	1206 CE (21 st Aug.)	Stone slab built in the wall of the temple of Mahadeva	Kannada	Shilaharas of Karad-Vira Bhojadeva	(Sama)ntavada	Sakaleshvara	Vitthala Prabhu, son of Bappadeva prabhu of Kalakhandi	15 <i>gadyan</i> for i) worship and offerings ii) conducting the annual festivals etc at the temple	The grant was entrusted to the <i>Mahajananas</i> , the <i>Sthanapati</i> and others	ARIE, 1972-73, No. 33, p. 31
172	Hutgi, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1207 CE (28 th May) Damage d	Slab, built into the wall of the Hotgisvami <i>Matha</i>	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II	Hotige	Bhogilinga deva	Kheyisahani, an officer	A flower-garden, a house-site & some agricultural lands for i) worship & offerings		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 25, p. 160
173	Akshi, Alibag taluka, Raigarh dt.	1209 CE Damage d	Slab near Kalkaborva Devi temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Shilahara-Keshideva II			Pradhana Adhora	Construction of something in honour of goddess Mahalakshmi	<i>Mahapradhan</i> Bhairju dug something (either a tank or a well)	Mirashi 1977, No. 35, pp. 167-168
174	Akkalkot, Solapur dt.	1211 CE (26 th June or 11 th July) Damage d	Slab in the Old Palace	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II		Someshvara	<i>Mahamandale shvara Manneya</i> (Ku)pparasa, Mallagauda, Chandagamvu (da) & 8 hittus	50 <i>mattara</i> land		Panchamukhi 1951, No. 33, pp. 120-122

								(heads of traders/artisans) of Kavutage			
								Not clear	8 <i>mattara</i> land & gold for offerings etc		
175	Amarapur, Chikhali taluka, Buldhana dt.	1211-12 CE	Above the lintel of the shrine door of Shiva temple	Sanskrit/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II	Probably of Amarapur		Mamgala	Construction of a <i>torana</i> (?) in a temple	The temple was built by Padumana setti, resident of Ambadapur	Mirashi 1931-32, No. 21A
176	Satan Dudhani, Akkalkot taluka, Solapur dt.	1212 CE (10 th Nov.)	Stone slab	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II	Savant Dudunige (Satan Dudhani)	Somanatha	Soideva Naik Senior Kapprasa, junior Kapprasa, Savanta Bachayya, junior Ndyya, Kelkayya, Bir holla & Entuhittu	Consecration 30 <i>mattara</i> agricultural land near village Urudhige and other agricultural land The land was tax-free		Kumbhar A. N. 2001b
177	Bagehalli Akkalkot taluka, Solapur dt.	1216 CE (18 th April) Damage d	Slab in the Hanuman temple	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana	Bavugeyahalli (Bagehalli)	Manikeshvaradeva	Sangeya Sahani of Badavi (Badami)	Certain grants		Panchamukhi 1951, No. 36, pp. 126-128
178	Bhalavani, Khanapur taluka, Sangli dt.	1216 AD (21 st April)	Stone slab	Sanskrit/Nagari	Yadava-SinghanaII		Bhaiyala		Government money (<i>rajya vritti</i>)		Kolte 1987, No. 17, pp.295-300
179	Ranjana, Vasamatnagar taluka, Hingoli dt.	1217 CE (19 th Nov.)	On the lintel of Narasimha temple at Ranjana	Sanskrit/Nagari	Mahamandaleshvara Amanadeva (possibly vassal of Yadava Singhana II)	Ratanjana (Ranjana)	Siddheshvara	Parasarama of Raik family	Construction of temple (<i>kirtana</i>)		Deshpande B. 1976, pp. 47-59
180	Itkal, Tuljapur taluka, Osmanabad dt.	1217 CE (25 th Dec.)	On a pillar in the Maruti temple	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II	Sonnalige	Kapilasiddha-Mallikarjuna	<i>Mahapradhan</i> Samgamadeva nayak, Kumaras Jayitigideva, Limgadeva, Ganeshvaradeva, Parigideva &	Village Ittage in Amkulage 80, a subdivision of Anadura 300		ARIE 1963-64, No. 339, p. 89

								Shambhudeva			
181	Mangrul, Akkalkot taluka, Solapur dt.	1218 CE (22 nd April) Damage d	In the corridor of the mosque	Kannada	Yadava-name is lost				Land		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 27, pp. 161-162
182	Darphal, North Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1218 CE (9 th July)	Slab, found near a temple	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II	Daraphala	3 lingas Gopanneshvara, Vijapaleshvara & Kanchapaleshvara	Paitalladevi, wife of the officer Gopanadeva Officer Vikkamapalarahuta & some other officers (names specified) Merchants in the presence of Ubhayananadevshis N.A.	Construction of the temple Lands, a mangrove, a flower-garden etc. An oil-mill in Marudige for a perpetual lamp & maintenance of the temple Several commodities like betel leaves, betel nuts, paddy, oil etc. for the Chhatra of Gollaneshvara Land at Karanjige in Marudige 80		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 26, pp. 160-161
183	Kolhapur	1218 CE	On a pillar in the Ganapati shrine in Ambabai temple	Sanskrit/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II			Tailana	Construction of a <i>torana</i> in front of the goddess (Ambabai)		Khare 1947, No. 24 (1), pp.17-19
184	Bahal, Chalisgaon taluka, Jalgaon dt.	1222-23 CE	Slab in the temple of Sarajadevi	Sanskrit/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II		Dvaraja or Bhavani	Anantadeva, chief astrologer of the king	Construction of the temple		Kielhorn 1894-95c
185	Akkalkot, Solapur dt.	1223 CE (25 th or 26 th Sep.)	Slab in Old Palace	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II	Hilli (celebrated as the southern Varanasi)	Pishachamochana Kudala Sri Svayambhu Sangameshvaradeva	<i>Mahapradhan</i> Magara Murari Sangamadeva nayak, <i>Mahamandale</i> shvara Kapparasa, two <i>gavundas</i> and 8 representatives of <i>hittu</i>	Village Chikka Kavutagi in Arikulage 80	The grant was made over to the Brahmanas of Devara Brahmapuri	Panchamukhi 1951, No. 34, pp. 122-125

186	Manakeshvar, Paranda taluka, Osamanabad dt.	1223 CE Damage d	Engraved on the lower step of devi temple	Marathi/ Nagari					Some grants		Pathan 1989, No. 8, pp. 18-19
187	Khidrapur, Shirol taluka, Kolhapur dt.	1224-25 CE	Slab in the Koppeshvara Mahadeva temple	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Yadava- Singhana II	Khidrapur	Koppeshvar adeva	King	Village Kudaladamavada (Kurundwadi, Shirol taluku, northwest of Khidrapur) on the confluence of the rivers Krishna & Veni in Mirinji division for i) <i>angabhoga & rangabhoga</i>	The village was given with all its trees, land & nine kinds of buried treasures	Fleet 1876
188	Pandharpur, Solapur dt.	1226 CE (25 th Dec.)	On a beam of the <i>mandapa</i> of Vitthal temple	Sanskrit- Kannada/ Nagari- Kannada	Hoyasala- Somesvara	Pandharpur	Vitthal	King	a) Village Hiriagaraje in Asandinad <i>agrahara</i> for <i>anga, rang, bhoga</i> b) Few <i>gadyan</i> for lamp, incense, offering c) Milk, curd, <i>kheer</i> , a thin sweet bread (<i>manda</i>), wheat flour, clove, assafoetida, cardamom etc. d) 100 <i>gadyan</i> for great offering e) 13 <i>gadyan</i> for <i>vari</i>		Gokhale S. 1981
189	Ambejogai, Bid dt.	1228-29 CE	Slab, originally from Sakaleshvara temple	Sanskrit- Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava- Singhana II	Ambejogai	Sakaleshvar a	Kholesvara	a) Village Laghu-Bauci (Bauchi, near Ambe) in Amradesha b) Many sources of income at the royal residence or military cantonments in every village in Ambedesha, Kejadesha, Ausadesha & Udaigiridesha c) 1 gold coin & a flower basket from each of the markets & residential wards at Amrapura d) 1/4 th food grains & 1/4 th cowrie shells in lieu of gold from each of the four garrisons in the 4 <i>desha</i> every month for maintenance of feeding houses for the preists e) 1 cowrie for the betel leaves for the god f) 1/8 th of the produce of land g) 3 orchards near the tank		Shastri A. M. 1972, No. 2, pp. 5-36

									at Bilvapali (not identified) & 1 from the unclaimed land near the village h) 1 orchard in Rahatavandi i) 1 orchard near the temple j) 1 orchard to the east of the previous one k) 4 stringed flower-garland from every flower vendor in the market l) 6 oil-mills m) 2 fields n) salt from village Saya o) 5 areca-nuts on the transaction of every <i>asu</i> p) 1 bundle on the sale of dry fodder & grass q) 25 leaves on the betel leaves sold by weight, 12 leaves on those sold by auction r) <i>Sumka</i> (a cess) on vegetable & fruit vendors s) 1 field each in the villages Catusa (Chat, near Ambe), Adasa (Adas, near Ambe) & Javalagava (Javalagamva, near Ambe) t) 1 orchard & a field in Salivava		
190	Sillod, Aurangabad dt.	1230 CE (15 th April)	On the left wall of hall in a Hemadpanthi Shiva temple at Sillod	Sanskrit/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II	Probably Sillod	Shiva	Ellana Pandita, who was <i>Mahashrikara nika</i> (incharge of revenue system)	Construction of temple and well	The temple was built after the death of donor's wife Vamadevi. This temple is referred to as Vameshvari in Lilacharita	Deshpande B. 1976, pp. 60-65
191	Gunjegaon, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1232 CE (13 th Dec.)		Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II	Sonnalige	Kapilasiddha Mallikarjuna	King	Some grants for worship		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 29, p. 163
192	Prakashe, Shahada taluka, Nandurbar dt.	1233-34 CE	Slab	Sanskrit/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II	Prakashe	Vikramarka (Sun)	Two brothers Haradeva & Mahadeva	Construction of the temple		Sircar & Subrahmanyam 1965-66
193	Mangalvedha,	1235 CE	Slab in the	Kannada	Yadava-	Bagivada	Tripurantak		Land, oil-mill, income from		Gopal 1969, No.

	Solapur dt.	(26 th Nov.)	compound of the Mamlatdar's office		Singhana II		a or Bhogishvara		taxes etc.		40, pp. 161-162
194	Ardhapur	1236 CE (7 th May)			Yadava-Singhana		Indreshvara , Kedareshvara , Bhimeshvara , Vishveshara, Nageshvara, Sakaleshvara , Rajeshvara, Somanatha, Narasimha, Shubhnarayana, Vinayaka, Chandikadevi & others		Money	Grants were made at the instance of Sarvadhikari Samkana and Sarvadhikari Lakhana pandita	Ritti & Shelke 1968, No. 41, pp. 238-39
195	Kolhapur	1237 CE (12 th Jan)	Slab in the compound of Laxmivilas palace museum	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II		Name lost	Probably Sakanayaja, the chief of Kollapuradesa	Probably land	The text is similar to that of the Kapileshvara temple inscription of 1240 CE of the same king	Ritti & Karavirkar 2000, No 17, pp. 95-97
196	Kolhapur	1238 CE	Slab, found in front of the western gate of Mahakali in Ambabai temple	Sanskrit/Nagari	Not clear probably Yadava – Jayashila		Svarup Jaleshvara	Daru Naik	Remission of revenues from a place (not clear) & 25 bullocks for i) five-fold worship		Graham 1854, No. 13, pp. 330 & 426
197	Nevasa, Ahemadanagar dt.	1239 CE	Slab, found in a house near Mohiniraja temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Not mentioned		Kanaireshvara	Officials	Renewal of the grant of 18 <i>nivarttana</i> land in Pampuvihari village (Khalal Pimpri, near Nevasa)	The land was with the temple from earlier times	Khare 1934, No. 10(1), pp. 3-5
198	Chaudharapada, Bhiwandi taluka, Thane dt. (hamlet of Lonad)	1240 CE (24 th Jan.)	Stone slab	Sanskrit/Nagari	Northern Shilahara-Keshiraja		Four Brahmanas for Shiva	King	Village Manjaspalli included in the village Bopagrama (Babgaon, 2 miles west of findspot of the inscription) i) for the maintenance of Brahmanas, who will worships Shiva	The village was free from all obligations. The king established Brahmapuri for a Brahmana and	Mirashi 1977, No. 36, pp. 169-72

										his descendants	
199	Madre, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	1240 CE Damage d	Slab, built into a platform near a mosque	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana II			Mayideva, officer of the king	Some grants		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 30, p. 163
200	Kolhapur	1240 CE (21 st June) 1240 CE (25 th June)	Slab kept in the Kapileshvara temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II		Kapileshvara Do	Kamagavunda - <i>sarvadhikari</i> of Kollapuradesa Do	Some grant Do		Ritti & Karavirkar 2000, No 18, pp. 98-102
201	Ambejogai, Bid dt.	1240 CE (27 th Oct.)	Slab in the Kholeshvara <i>Matha</i>	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II	Brahmapuri	Ramanarayana	Lakshmi, daughter of Kholeshvara, senapati of the king	Construction of the temple Donations: a) A village b) Two orchards c) Three oil-mills	The temple was built in the memory of her brother Ramadeva	Tulpule 1963, No. 25, pp. 129-132
202	Phulambari, Aurangabad taluka, Aurangabad dt.	1242 CE (3 rd Dec.)	Slab	Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana II			Rshinayak Kshtrapati	Construction of a <i>Matha</i>		Tulpule 1963, No. 26, pp. 133-134
203	Manur, Majalgaon taluka, Bid dt.	1248 CE		Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Krishnadeva			Thoratha, brother-in-law of the king	Construction of a temple		IAR 1964-65, No. 42, p. 59
204	Tasgaon, Tasgaon taluka, Sangli dt.	1251 CE (20 th Feb.)	Copper-plates	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Krishnadeva	Probably Tasgaon	Kalideva (Shiva)	Two brothers Chandra & Keshvara	Construction of the temple Grant of the village Mamjaravataka (Mojarde, north of Tasgaon) i) Half of the village was for <i>ashta-bhoga</i> of the god ii) Other half was for feeding 25 Brahmanas	The temple was to be in charge of the Guravas, who were to look after the bhoga of the god. Other half was given to 14 Brahmanas, who were to take care of the satra & also perform daily worship	Khare 1947-48
205	Methi, Sindkhed taluka, Dhule dt.	1254 CE (29 th April)	Engraved on the lintel of the shrine doorway of Vishnu temple	Sanskrit/Nagari	Yadava-Krishnadeva	Methi	Bhadrahari (Vishnu)	N.A.	Village Kurukavataka (Kurukavade, near Methi) i) Half of the income of the village was for the daily worship, offerings etc.		Desai 1949-50

								Gangadhara	ii) Other half was given to 25 Brahmanas (names specified) Land, house & money, possibly for the Brahmanas		
206	Nandgaon, Nandgaonkhandeshvar taluka, Amaravati dt.	1254-55 CE	Engraved on the outer wall of the Khandeshvara temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Krishnadeva	Nandgaon	Probably Khandeshvara	A group of 10 persons	A <i>gadyan</i> each for i) offerings of flowers First nine persons provided 1 lakh flowers, while the 10 th person provided for 2 lakh flowers	The temple in which the inscription is found is triple-shrined with Shiva, goddess and Narasimha as deities.	Mirashi 1947-48
207	Kavalapur, Sangli taluka, Sangli dt.	1257 CE (18 th or 25 th Jan.)	Slab	Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Krishnadeva	Kavalapur		King	3 <i>nivartana</i> land or land producing 3 <i>gadyan</i> in Malaghav (Malgaon, about 15 km southeast of Kavalapur)	There is an old Hemadpanthi temple of Siddheshvar in the village	Tulpule 1963, No. 30, pp. 148-150
208	Kanhegaon, Udgir taluka, Latur dt.	1258 CE (7 th Dec.)	Slab	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Krishnadeva	Skhaval (Sakole, near Kanhegaon)	Narasimha	Gopaldeva, in charge of Lattanaur (Latur) town	Village Kone in Khandhar desha with all its produce	The slab has an engraving of Narasimha The grant was made at the completion of a sacrifice (<i>laksha homa</i>)	Tulpule 1963, No. 31, pp. 151-155
209	Chanje, Uran taluka, Raigarh dt.	1260 CE (12 th April)	Slab	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Shilahara-Someshvaradeva	Sthanaka (Thane)	Uttareshvara	King	An orchard in Komthalesthana in the village Chandije (Chanje) 10 <i>visova</i> (1/20 th of a <i>dramma</i>) & 162 <i>porutha-dramma</i>	The land was granted with grass, wood & water	Mirashi 1977, No. 39, pp. 175-177
210	Tervan, Rajapur taluka, Ratnagiri dt.	1261 CE	Copper-plate	Sanskrit/Nagari	Later Chalukya-Mandalik Mahamandaleshvara Kanvadevarai		Vimalleshvara	Keshav Mahajani, king's minister	Land called Rhat or Bhat Siwar enjoyed by the Shudras Land lying near the temple was given to Madhava Deva for daily worship & offering of the deity 4 orchards & culinary copper vessels for the maintenance of the <i>Matha</i> near the temple Village Terawatak (Tervan)	The village was received by Keshava Mahajani from the king along with all rights	Jacob 1853

									to a few Brahmanas, who were probably in charge of the temple		
211	Kolhapur	1261 CE Damage d	In Laxmivilas Palace	Kannada	Yadava- Mahadeva	Ainidala	Kallinatha & Mallikarjun a	Mahamandale shvara Jallanadeva or Madeyagavun da	50 & 100 <i>yoja</i> of land for worship, offerings & lamp		Kundangar 1939, No. 19, pp. 90-91 & 154-155 Ritti & Karavikar 2000, No. 22, pp. 112-113
212	Kolhapur	1266 CE (22 nd Jan.)	On a pillar in the <i>mandapa</i> of Navagraha shrine in Ambabai temple	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Yadava- Mahadeva	Kolhapur	Nemadevi <i>basti</i> (Jaina)	Pandit Kanakchandra & Hegde Vasudeva, in charge of the temple	Some land or house in the eastern part of Bettadasiri village (probably Bilashi) for yearly whitewash, repair & for removing the vegetation growing over the temple		Khare 1947, No. 24 (2), pp. 19-22
213	Rohilgarh, Ambad taluka, Jalna dt.	1270 CE	Slab on the northern gate	Marathi/ Nagari	Not mentioned			Jagadeva Patil, son of Nagadeva Patil	Construction of a temple		Pathan 1989, No. 19, pp. 49-50
214	Kolhapur	1272 CE	Slab built in the rampart near the Vuruntirtha gate	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Yadava – Ramadeva?		Brahmeshv ara	King	Village Girivali for i) five-fold worship in the morning ii) <i>ashtanga puja</i> iii) <i>maha-naivedya</i> iv) feeding the monks Land & money to a number of Brahmanas	The village was given with its trees & everything else i.e. hidden treasures, revenues, fines etc. Only a part of the village was given to a Brahmana The grant was entrusted to king's teacher Vishvarupa	Graham 1854, No. 15, pp. 332, 437-438
215	Pandharpur, Solapur dt.	1273-74 to 1276- 77 CE	Slab built in the wall to the right of northern door of the Vitthal temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Not mentioned	Pandharpur	Vitthal	Commoners	Various donations such as cash, flowers, tulsi etc.	The donations were made on the occasion of the renovation of the temple for the period of around four years. The donnes were	Tulpule 1963, No. 34, pp. 165- 190

										from different parts of Maharashtra and also outside Maharashtra.	
216	Unakdeva, Kinavat taluka, Nanded dt.	1279 CE	Slab built in the wall to the left of the doorway of a Shiva temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava-Ramanchandra	Unakdeva	Unakdeva	Meghadeva, son of Sarununaik	Construction of temple Donation of fields & land in about 20 villages around Unakdeva	Records the legend of Rama visiting the <i>ashram</i> of Sharabhang Rishi and turning the natural springs at Unakdeva into hot springs.	Tulpule 1963, No. 37, pp.198-205
217	Mangalvedhe, Solapur dt.	1282 CE	Slab in a field	Marathi/ Nagari	Not mentioned		Chandikadevi	Siddhanatha of Kavideva family	6 villages with Kavithe (Kavathe-Mahakal, Sangli dt.) as the main village	Records that whoever does not observe the grant would have the curse of the goddess at Kekammiri (Kakamari, Bijapur dt. Karnataka)	Tulpule 1963, No. 38, pp. 206-208
218	Kalvar, Bhiwandi taluka, Thane dt.	1289 CE (25 th Jan.)	Slab in a field	Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava-Ramachandra		Krishna	King	1.25 <i>nivarttana</i> ? land in Miridesha (Konkan)	The grant was executed by <i>Mahamandale shvara</i> & minister of Konkan Kanharadeva	Tulpule 1963, No. 40, pp. 212-216
219	Mauje Vafale, Madha taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated Around 1290 CE	Slab, found in the compound of an old temple	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Not clear-probably Yadava	Bagavi (9 km northwest of Vafale)	Tejeshvara	Narana Maideva	i) 80 <i>vrutti</i> in Upal village (Upalai, near Vafale), 4 houses, 3 flower-gardens, 1 oil-mill ii) 15 <i>vrutti</i> in Deivadi village (Devadi, near Vafale) iii) 36 <i>vrutti</i> , 4 each to nine persons attached with the temple, mostly musicians iv) 20 <i>vrutti</i> , 4 each to five	There is a reference to an earlier grant of 15 <i>nivarttana</i> land & 25 <i>vrutti</i> in the reign of king Jaitrapal	Dikshit M.G. 1951, No. 10, pp. 66-72

									Brahmanas v) 8 <i>nivartana</i> land vi) 300 <i>vritti</i> for daily worship, offering & other religious deeds		
220	Akshi, Alibag taluka, Raigarh dt.	1291 CE (9 th March)	Slab near Somesvara temple Damaged	Sanskrit- Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava- Ramachandra	Akshi	Kalikadevi	Ishvaradeva, son of the servant of king	Probably land & 1 <i>gadyan</i>	The grant was entrusted to Brahmanas	Tulpule 1963, No. 41, pp. 217- 219
221	Savargaon, Tuljapur taluka, Osmanabad dt.	1293-94 CE	Slab	Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava- Ramachandra			Shripati Krishnadeva	Field		Tulpule 1963, No. 42, pp. 220- 221
222	Latur	Undated 12 th -13 th century CE	Slab near the <i>mandapa</i> of Siddheshvara temple	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Not mentioned	Latur	Siddhshvar a		36 <i>nivartana</i> land		Khare 1934, No. 21(2), p. 90
223	Achegaon, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated 12 th -13 th century CE Damage d	Engraved on the nandistambha near Maruti temple	Kannada	Yadava-name is lost	Achegaon		Tipparasa dandanayak	Village Achegrama		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 33, pp. 164-165
224	Bhandarakavath e, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated 12 th -13 th century CE Damage d	Slab, built into the wall of the platform in a dargah	Kannada			Racheshvar adeva, Adityadeva & Rotteshvara deva		Lands		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 34, p. 165
225	Kumbhari, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated 12 th -13 th century CE	Engraved on a pillar in the vicinity of the Balashvara temple	Kannada	Not mentioned		Baleshvara	Nachisetti	Land	It states that the inscriptional slab was one of the four pillars. It appears that these pillars were the boundary stones demarcating the donated land	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 35, pp. 165-166
226	Mardi, North Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated 12 th -13 th century CE	Slab in a field near the Yamai temple	Kannada	Not mentioned		Kallinatha		Garden	Probably a border stone	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 37, p. 166

227	Gunjegaon, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated 12 th -13 th century CE	Slab, built into the wall of Maruti temple Fragmentary	Kannada	Not mentioned	Sonnalige	Kapilasiddha-Mallikarjuna	An officer	Grant for i) worship & offering	Sonnalige is described as Dakshina-Varanasi	Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 38, pp. 166-167
228	Deoulgaon-Raje, Daund taluka, Pune dt.	Undated 12 th -13 th century CE	Slab near the entrance door of a temple	Marathi/Nagari	Not mentioned					Records a curse. The inscription recording the donation has disappeared	Tulpule 1963, No. 71, pp. 370-372
229	Ardhapur, Nanded dt.	Undated 12 th -13 th century CE	On a broken slab, found from a field	Sanskrit/Nagari	Ratta-lost	Probably Ardhapur	Probably Shiva			There are figures of sun, Shiva-linga, a devotee & a cow with a calf on the slab	Sircar & Bhattacharya 1963-64a, pp. 168-170
230	Kumbhari, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated 13 th century CE	Slab, found in the vicinity of Baleshvara temple	Kannada	Not mentioned		Devalleshvara	Kambhayaraneya	House		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 39, p. 167
231	Ambejogai, Bid dt.	Undated 13 th century CE	Slab, built into the western wall of a structure	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Yadava-Singhana	Ambejogai	Yogeshvar i	General Kholeshvara	Construction of the temple Village Talaini (Talani, Bid dt.)	There is reference to temples of Kedareshvara, Ambareshvara, Manikyesvara & Sakaleshvara at Ambejogai	Shastri A. M. 1972, No. III, pp. 37-48
232	Gunjegaon, South Solapur taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated 13 th century CE	On the nandistambha of the Maruti temple	Kannada	Yadava-Singhana	Probably Sonnalige	Kapilasiddha-Mallikarjuna		Grant for the worship		Ritti & Kumbhar 1988, No. 28, pp. 162-163
233	Tadaval, Akkalkot taluka, Solapur dt.	Date is lost 13 th century CE	Two fragments of stones lying in the Mallikarjuna temple	Kannada	Yadava-Kanharadeva	Sonnalige	Kapilasiddha-Mallikarjuna	Chetarasa Kucharasa, officer of the king & another dignitary	Certain grants		Panchamukhi 1951, No. 41, pp. 141-144
234	Vazur, Gangakhed taluka, Parbhani dt.	13 th century CE?	Engraved on a pillar in the <i>mandapa</i> of Someshvara temple	Marathi/Nagari	Not mentioned	Vazur	Someshvara	Madhav Sutar & his son	Construction of the pillar		Pathan 1989, No. 81, pp. 176-177

235	Ramtek, Nagpur dt.	Undated 13 th century CE Damage d	Slab, built into the wall near the shrine doorway Lakshmana	Sanskrit/ Nagari	Yadava- Ramachandra				Possibly repairs		Mirashi 1939-40, No. 2, pp. 7-20
236	Satarda, Sawantwadi taluka, Sindhudurg dt.	13 th century CE	Slab built into the wall of Mahadeva temple, in continuation of previous inscription	Kannada	Not clear	Probably Satarda	Sakaleshvar a		Grant	Other details are lost	ARIE 1972-73, No. 32, p. 31
237	Kolhapur	13 th century CE	On a broken piece of a pillar kept at the entrance of the house of Rasivadekar	Sanskrit- Nagari	Yadava- Mahadeva	Kolhapur	Mahalaksh mi	Chiefs of a village	12 <i>nishka</i> out of the taxes for the supply of flowers for the goddess	Damaged	Ritti & Karavirkar 2000 No. 24, p. 119
238	Gadhinglaj, Gadhinglaj taluka, Kolhapur dt.	13 th century CE	On a pillar in the Kalleshvara temple	Kannada			Jaina- Chandrapra bha	Chamavve, wife of Mahapradhan, Perggade Devapayya	Construction of <i>basti</i>	Constructed for a Jaina ascetic Panditadeva (name partially preserved) of Yapaniya sangha & kudupale gana	Ritti & Karavirkar 2000, No 41, pp. 154- 155
239	Velapur, Malshirasa taluka, Solapur dt.	1300 CE (20 th May)	Slab	Sanskrit- Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava- Ramachandra	Velapur	Vateshvara <i>Matha</i>	Minister Baideva	<i>Matha</i> was made tax-free		Tulpule 1963, No. 45, pp. 229- 231
240	Hatnur, Selu taluka, Parbhani dt.	1301 CE	On a pillar in the Shiva temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Not mentioned	Hatnur	Naganatha	Parushadeva Pandit	Construction of the temple		Tulpule 1963, No. 48, pp. 242- 243
241	Koravali, Mohol taluka, Solapur dt.	1303 CE	Slab found in a small mound of 'white soil'	Marathi/ Nagari Fragmentary	Possibly Yadava- Ramachandra				Possibly some donation which was exempted from the taxes	According to the tradition, there was a Narasimha temple near the mound. The inscriptional slab has figures of Krishna and	Kumbhar 1974

										Shiva <i>linga</i> along with sun and cow.	
242	Velapur, Malshirasa taluka, Solapur dt.	1305 CE (22 nd Nov.)	Slab, built in the right wall of the stairs of the well in front of Haranarashvar a temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava-Ramachandra	Velapur	Vateshvara <i>Matha</i>	Brahmadevarana, in charge of Manadesha Priyadeva Pandit Baideva Charguda	Construction of a large <i>prasada</i> on the small temple (elaboration of the already extant temple) Sacrifices, feeding of Brahmanas & various <i>dana-dakshina</i> Donation of land Donation of a field for offerings 5 <i>gadyan</i> for <i>tulsi</i> garland & 300 garlands of flower 1 field 1 field for feeding teachers & learned man	This temple (<i>devasthan</i>) is described as Siddha Kshetra and Svayambhu. It is the same temple as mentioned in the inscription of 1300 CE and the donor of this grant is same as Baideva of the present inscription	Tulpule 1963, No. 50, pp. 248-255
243	Kata, Washim taluk, Wasim dt.	1305-05 CE	On the pedestal of a goddess icon in the Kantheshvar temple	Marathi/ Nagari	Yadava-Ramachandra	Probably Kata	Ujamatha (probably Kantheshvara temple)		Possibly donation or installation of the icon		Tulpule 1963, No. 49, pp. 244-247
244	Pandharpur, Solapur dt.	1311 CE (18 th Nov.)	Slab, built in the wall of a house opposite Vitthal temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/ Nagari	Not mentioned	Pandharpur	Vitthal	Keshavadeva Shri Chandrasenadeva Shri Patideva	Installation of the icon of Vitthal Donations: 1 <i>gadyan</i> for servants 1 <i>gadyan</i> for the festival to be performed in <i>chaitra</i> month 1 <i>gadyan</i> for the god 1 <i>gadyan</i> for <i>vasantpuja</i> & 4 lamps 3 <i>gadyan</i> every month for high merit 2 <i>dramma</i> 1 <i>dramma</i>	The grant was entrusted to a Maratha servant Kshetrapati	Tulpule 1963, No. 51, pp. 256-260
245	Bhandak, Varoda taluka,	1326 CE	Slab, kept in the <i>mandapa</i>	Local dialect-Sanskrit/			Narayana		Probably renovation of a temple & the installation of		IAR 1963-64, No. 52, p. 72

	Chandrapur dt.		of the Bhadranaga temple	Nagari					the icon of Narayana		
246	Dhabadeva (Boradi), Shirpur taluka, Dhule dt.	1333-34 CE	Slab lying in the locality known as Dhababavadi at Boradi Damaged	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Tughluq-Muhammad			Melugideva, son of Singhanadeva	Construction of temple and well		ARIE 1962-63, Appendix B, No 744, p. 132
247	Kanti Savargav, Tuljapur taluka, Osmanabad dt.	1398 CE	On the back wall of the Maruti temple	Sanskrit-Marathi/Nagari	Bahamani-Sultan Feroz Shah	Mahapuri (Tuljapur)	Goddess Shridevi (Bhavani)	Parashuram Gosavi	a) Construction of a raised, square terrace for the compound wall of <i>dharmashala</i> at Kanti b) Installation of an icon of Shridevi	This is the earliest reference to Tuljapur's Bhavani goddess	Tulpule 1963, No. 57, pp. 298-301
248	Parda, Mehekar taluka, Buldhana dt.	Undated 14 th century CE	Broken portion of a pillar of Shiva temple	Marathi/Nagari	Not mentioned	Parda	Gaudeva		<i>Vritti</i> of Chatu village (Kingaon Jattu, near Parda)		Kolte 1987, No. 23, pp. 368-371
249	Ter Osmanabad dt.	Undated 14 th century CE	On the pedestal of Parshvanatha icon		Not mentioned	Ter	Parshvanatha (Jaina)		Repair of the temple & donation of <i>paduka</i>		
250	Alte, Hatakangale taluka, Kolhapur dt.	Undated	On the pillar in Ramalinga temple	Kannada	Not mentioned		Keshava		Income of tax		Kundanagr 1939, No. 42, pp. 123 & 186
251	Ner, Vaduj taluka (formerly Khatav taluka), Satara dt.	Undated	On a pillar in Shiva temple	Sanskrit/Nagari	Not mentioned		Vishvanatha		<i>Agrahara</i> along with the produce of the temple		Khare 1929
252	Konhalli, Akkalkot taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated	Slab in a field	Kannada	Not mentioned		Manikeshvaradeva		32 <i>mattara</i> of land		Annigeri & Joshi 1961, No. 87, p. 14
253	Sirval, Akkalkot taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated Fragmen tary	Slab in front of a house	Kannada	Not mentioned	Siravolal	Mitteshvara		A house-site		Annigeri & Joshi 1961, No. 88, p. 14
254	Bagehalli, Akkalkot taluka, Solapur dt.	Undated	Slab near Hanuman temple	Kannada	Not mentioned	Javur	Brahmeshvara		100 <i>mattara</i> land		Annigeri & Joshi 1961, No. 89, p. 14
255	Kusba Saogaon, Kagal taluka,	Undated	In a Jaina temple	Kannada	Not mentioned	Saogaon	Jaina	Bummun	Construction of a temple		Graham 1854, No. 18, pp. 332-

	Kolhapur dt.										33
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This list includes almost all temple-related inscriptions from Maharashtra, published so far. However, a few of the inscriptions, which have been published in local journals and which have been recorded in unpublished Ph.D. theses, have remained inaccessible.

2.3 MATERIALS AND FIND-SPOTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

While most of the inscriptions are written on stone-slabs found either loose or embedded in temple walls, a few are written on temple parts such as pillars, side-walls or architrave above doorways and on copper-plates. The following table shows the number of each type of inscriptions issued at different periods. The inscriptions are divided into categories such as those written on loose stones and copperplates, while all the inscriptions in temples either directly on temples parts or stone-slabs associated with temples are grouped together.

Material/Find-spots of Inscriptions															
Material/Find-Spot	Century														
	4	5	7	8	9	10	10-11	11	11-12	12	13	12-13	14	N.A.	Total
Copper-plates			3	3		4		5		7	3				25
Stone-slab		1			2	1	1	12		39	30	3	3	3	95
Temple	2							9	2	45	31	5	8	3	105
Pedestal of image										1					1
N. A.								8		18	3				29
Total	2	1	3	3	2	5	1	34	2	110	67	8	11	6	255

Table 1: Material/Find-spots of Inscriptions

The largest numbers of inscriptions are found within actual temples. In most cases these records are related to the structures concerned, except in few cases where new temples were built using the material of old collapsed temples. But since stone inscriptions were rarely removed to far off places, the temples referred to in the inscriptions must have existed in the area around the find-spot of the inscription.

The loose stone-slabs were markers of donated land in few cases, but in most cases they must have formed part of the temples, which have disappeared now. There are a few exceptions though. The inscriptions recording grants to the temples in distant lands are found in the villages from where land/dues were donated. Thus, the grant of income of orchard in Mumbai given to the Vaidyanatha temple at Dabhoi in Gujarat is found within concerned

village. Similarly, the grants of village income/village given to temples at Kalyan in Karnataka and at Shrishailam in Andhra Pradesh are also found from donated villages. Eight grants given to Kapilasiddha Mallikarjuna temple at Sonnalige, a suburb of Solapur, are found within the villages from where land or taxes were donated. Incidentally, these villages are situated within Solapur district and are not very far from the temple concerned.

The copperplates, recording grants to temples are very few in numbers. They are more frequent in the period before 10th century CE, forming the sole temple-inscriptions, while they are much less in number in later period compared to large quantity of stone inscriptions. It is not very surprising considering the earlier tradition of donating copper-plate grants to Brahmanas, which were private records and required to be deposited with the donees themselves, while the grants to temples were public records, which had to be displayed for the knowledge of general public and so were written on stone slabs or within temples. Though there is a greater possibility of copperplates being moved to distant places, most grants are found in the villages from where land/taxes were donated to temples, which were situated in nearby towns in most cases. The exception is the copperplate found at Thane recording grant of income of an orchard in Thane to the famous temple at Prabhas Patan in Gujarat.

The concentration of inscriptions varies in different areas. The districts of Nanded, Solapur and Kolhapur bordering with Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka have yielded largest numbers of inscriptions. While a few inscriptions are available from Konkan, north Maharashtra and some parts of Vidarbha except the eastern extremity of Gondia and Garhchiroli districts, their number is almost negligible in central Maharashtra, in the districts of Pune, Ahemadnagar, Aurangabad, Hingoli and Jalna. The imbalance in the distribution of the inscriptions, though significant and striking, should be interpreted with caution. This imbalance may also reflect unequal work carried out in different areas with emphasis on particular areas. Thus, though a lengthy list of all the inscriptions from Maharashtra has been prepared (Deo 1984), more detailed lists of inscriptions from Nanded, Solapur and Kolhapur districts are available (Ritti and Shelke 1968, Ritti and Kumbhar 1988, Ritti and Karavirkar 2000). But in spite of this disparity in published material, the concentration of inscriptions in certain areas is significant and we would deal with this problem later on.

It appears that temples concentrated at particular sites were favoured more and these sites continued to receive grants over a period of time. More than the sites, there were a few temples, which were probably perceived to be more scared or more important than others for various reasons and these were specifically favoured since they were endowed with grants over a long period. Consequently, though the number of grants is 255, the sites from which these grants have been furnished, are much less, about 146.

Geographical Distribution of Temple Grants			
No	District	No of Grants	No of sites from where grants have come
1	Ahemadnagar	1	1
2	Akola	1	1
3	Amaravati	2	2
4	Aurangabad	4	4
5	Bid	13	6
6	Buldhana	2	2
7	Chandrapur	5	2
8	Dhule	4	3
9	Hingoli	1	1
10	Jalgaon	5	4
11	Jalna	1	1
12	Kolhapur	32	10
13	Latur	4	4
14	Mumbai	2	2
15	Nagpur	3	2
16	Nanded	35	15
17	Nandurbar	1	1
18	Nasik	6	4
19	Osmanabad	12	7
20	Parbhani	2	2
21	Pune	2	2
22	Raigarh	4	3
23	Ratnagiri	4	4
24	Sangli	15	9
25	Satara	3	2
26	Solapur	70	33
27	Sindhudurg	4	3
28	Thane	14	13
29	Washim	1	1
30	Yeotmal	2	2
Total		255	146

Table 2: Geographical Distribution of Temple Grants

2.4 LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT OF INSCRIPTIONS

The largest numbers of grants are in Kannada script and language, which is understandable since most grants are from Nanded and Solapur districts, a Kannada-dominant area. Almost all early grants are in Sanskrit, while Marathi makes appearance in mid 12th century CE, much after Kannada and is concentrated in heartland of Maharashtra. Some of the later grants are bilingual, the genealogy portion being in Sanskrit and the actual grant portion being in colloquial language, either Marathi or Kannada. A single grant from Solapur district is interestingly in Kannada and Marathi, obviously indicating the prevalence of both the languages in these border areas, which is the case even today.

Linguistic Distribution of Temple Grants										
No	District	Kannada	Marathi	Sanskrit	Sanskrit-Marathi	Sanskrit-Kannada	Kannada-Marathi	Sanskrit - Marathi-Kannada	N.A.	Total
1	Ahemadnagar				1					1
2	Akola			1						1
3	Amaravati			1	1					2
4	Aurangabad		2	1	1					4
5	Bid	3	4	1	5					13
6	Buldhana		1	1						2
7	Chandrapur			3	1				1	5
8	Dhule			2	2					4
9	Hingoli			1						1
10	Jalgaon			5						5
11	Jalna		1							1
12	Kolhapur	16		13	2	1				32
13	Latur	1		2	1					4
14	Mumbai			2						2
15	Nagpur			3						3
16	Nanded	30	1	3					1	35
17	Nandurbar			1						1
18	Nasik			6						6
19	Osmanabad	4	4		2				2	12
20	Parbhani		2							2
21	Pune		2							2
22	Raigarh		1	1	2					4

23	Ratnagiri		1	2	1					4
24	Sangli	7	1	2	2	2		1		15
25	Satara	2		1						3
26	Solapur	52	5	1	4	3	1		4	70
27	Sindhudurg	2	1	1						4
28	Thane		2	10	1				1	14
29	Washim		1							1
30	Yeotmal			1					1	2
Total		117	29	65	26	6	1	1	10	255

Table 3: Linguistic Distribution of Temple Grants

CHAPTER 3

PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE AND TEMPLE ESTABLISHMENT

3.1 DEVELOPMENT OF TEMPLE AS AN INSTITUTION

The earliest temple-related inscription is from Deotek in Chandrapur district, dated to the reign of Vakataka king Rudrasena in 4th century CE that records the construction of a temple by the king (Mirashi 1963, No.1, pp. 1-4). The Vakatakas appear to have built a few temples, as evident from another inscription from Ramtek (Shastri 1997, pp. 125-135) and also actual temple remains at Ramtek, Nagra, Mandhal and few other sites in Vidarbha region. In 400 CE, during the rule of Maurya king Suketuvarman in Konkan region, one Simhadatta, son of Anakipardatta installed the deity Kotishvara, probably at Vada in Thane district and Ishaprakki, the *vallabhatalavara* of the king donated land and garden to the deity. The next reference to temple is during 7th century CE after the gap of two centuries. Three inscriptions, from Nasik, Dhule and Thane district each, record donations of land, village and residential sites to the temples for worshipping the main deity and for the benefit of the ascetics. There are stray records of temple endowments during next three centuries, while a striking increase is noticed in 11th century CE, when actual temple-structures make appearance. The most dramatic increase is noticeable during 12th century CE as the largest number of inscriptions date to this period. It indicates that a larger number of temples were built and highest number of donations was given to the temples during this period. The number of inscriptions is significant during 13th century CE, while again a sudden decrease is noticed in 14th century CE. Thus, it is clear that though temples were built that were sustained by endowments from around 4th-5th century CE, they started gaining prominence only by 11th century CE and the largest number of temples were built during 12th century CE and were provided with elaborate endowments (See Chart 1).

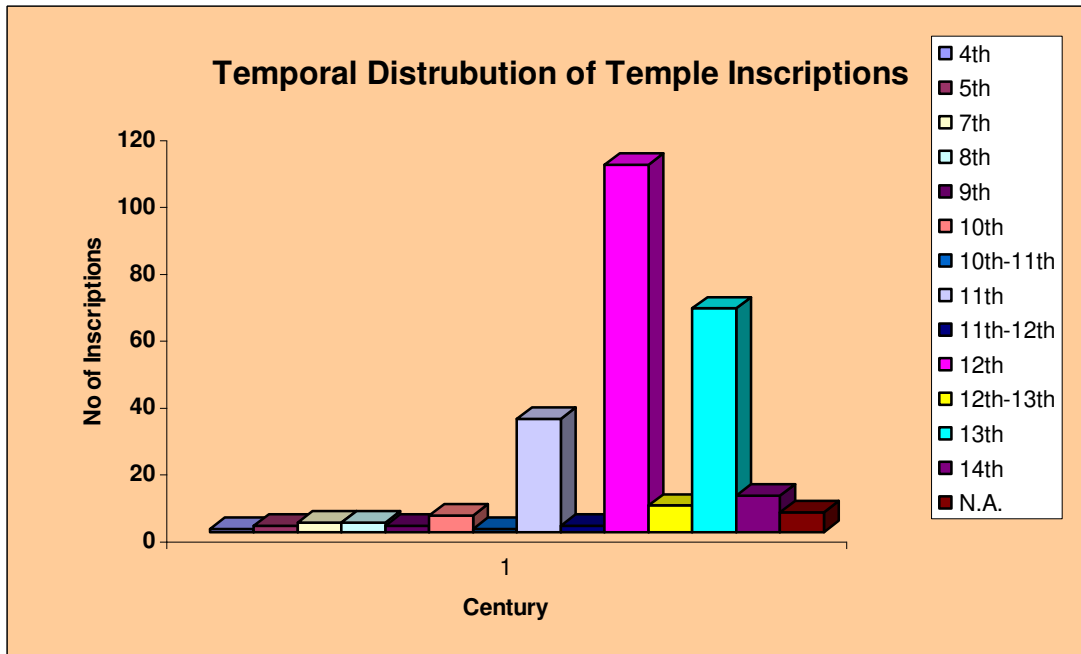


Chart 1: Temporal Distribution of Temple Inscriptions

The emergence of temples during medieval period was the result of gradual change in the socio-religious outlook and also economic currents of the period and the decisive time frame appears to be 10th century CE. During the pre-10th century CE period, the largest numbers of grants were given to Brahmanas. A change is noticed from 10th century CE, when gradually temple emerged as an important institution as a result of growing influence of *smarta* religion with emphasis on *dana*, *vrata* and *yatra*, the *bhakti* movement with emphasis on personal god and decrease in the popularity of elaborate and expensive Vedic sacrifices.

The chart below, prepared from the published data, which constitute of 131 grants to Brahmanas from the earliest times to 14th century CE across various parts of Maharashtra, point out the changing trends.

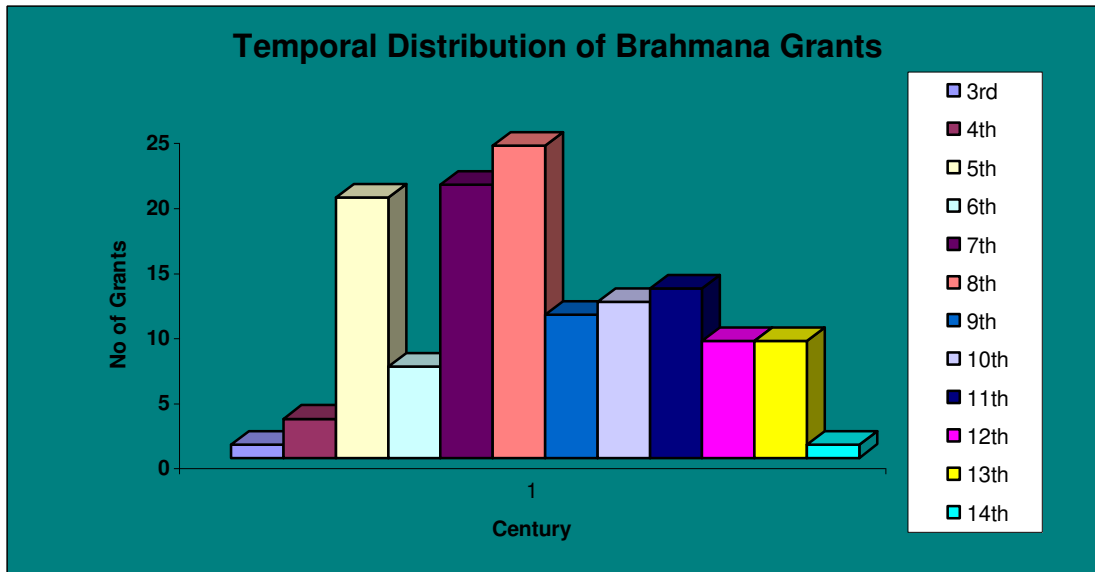


Chart 2: Temporal Distribution of Brahmana Grants

The Brahmanas were endowed with plots of land or villages to create *agraharas* from 3rd century CE onwards. It became a regular trend from 5th century CE, but started declining from 9th century CE. With the emergence of temple institution most grants came to be endowed upon the temples, while the number of grants to Brahmanas reduced considerably. The largest number of grants to Brahmanas were given during 5th to 8th century CE, while the number gradually goes down from 9th century CE and by 14th century CE, only a handful of grants were given to the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas, no doubt, remained important, but now as priests/caretakers of temple and not as performers of sacrifices. The Brahmanas received grants mainly because of their association with the temples. Similar trends are noticed in neighbouring regions of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, where the numbers of grants to the Brahmana reduce considerably from 9th-10th century onwards as the patronage is shifted to temple building, temple endowment and associated activities (Ismail 1984, p. 7; Talbot 2001, pp. 89-90). The similar trend is also noticed in Orissa, where endowments to the Brahmanas outnumbered other beneficiaries before 10th century CE, after which grants to temples increase (Singh 1993, p. 177).

3.2 PATRONAGE PATTERNS

Though definite information about the patrons of about 41 grants is not available, a distinct pattern is apparent regarding the class of people who patronised the temples and nature as well as terms of these endowments.

A) PATRONS

The donors were kings, princes, queens, royal officials, feudatories, merchants and other professionals, termed here as ‘commoners’. In many cases the grant was a joint venture of people from more than one category. These grants are classified here as ‘composite grants’. The following chart brings out the major trends of patronage.

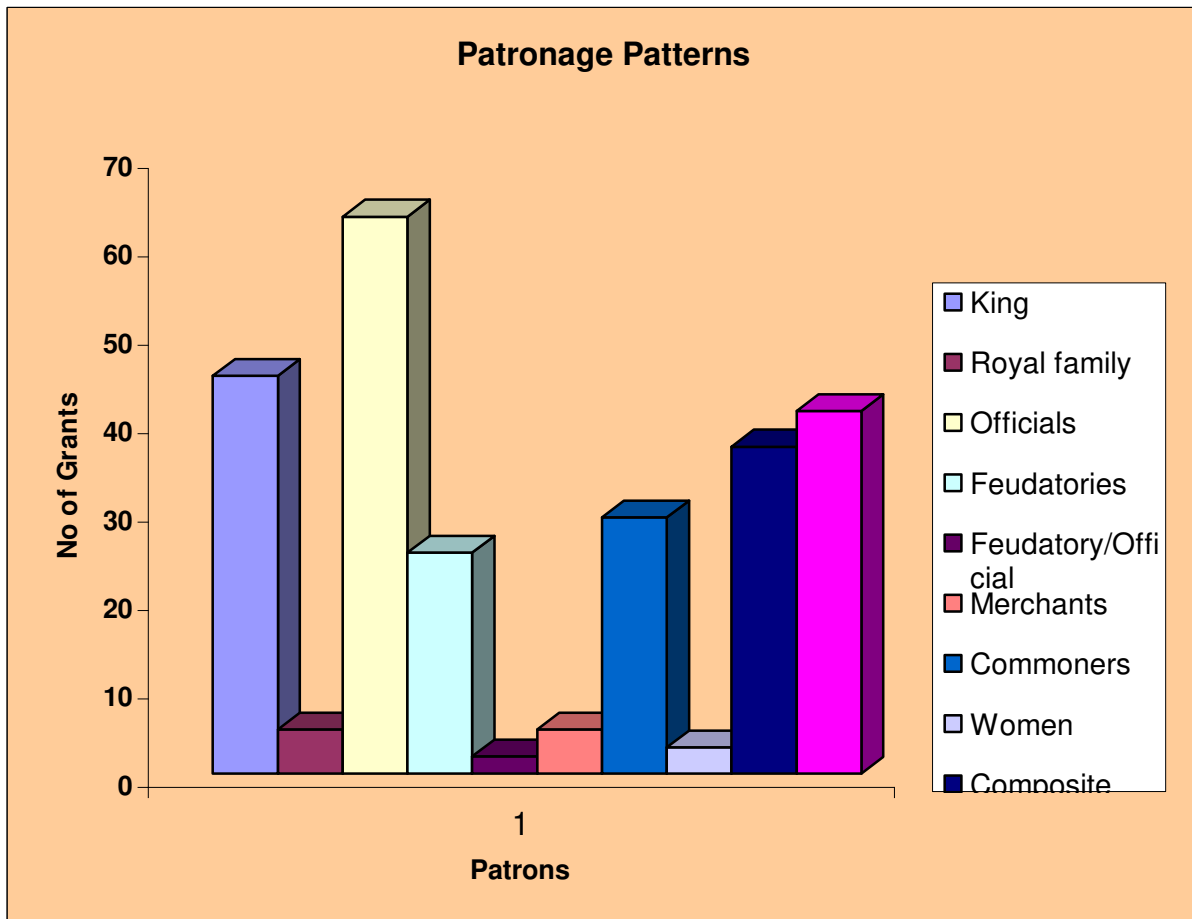


Chart 3: Patronage Patterns

a) Royal officials and Feudatories

The ‘royal’ officials like *dandanayaka*, *senapati*, *mahapradhan*, *sunkavergade* (tax collector), *manevergade* (chamberlain), *bhanasavergade* (steward), *perggade* (possibly clerk), accountants, treasurers and feudatories or vassals like *samanta*, *mahasamanta*, *mahamandaleshvara*, *mandalika* together form the most dominant class that patronized temples. Some of these such as *gavundas*, *mahajanas*, *prabhus* may not have been ‘royal officials’ in strict sense, but they were definitely persons in some administrative/authoritative position in the traditional set-up of the society and therefore are classified as officials here.

The *gavundas* were village heads, while *prabhus* were important persons in the village. The *mahajanans* are sometimes understood as Brahmanas, particularly in an *agrahara* village or as leading members of the village community (Parasher 1992). In some cases, the feudatories are found holding significant offices too, as a *mahamandaleshavara* is also *mahapradhan* or *dandanayaka* and this case they are classified as feudatories.

Few of these officials and feudatories were actively engaged in various religious activities and made liberal donations to a number of temples in their areas of influence. We have an interesting series of grants from late 11th to early 12th century CE from a few sites in Deglur taluka of Nanded district that bring out the patronage trends and also the history of the area. In 1070 CE, Karkarasa, a subordinate chief under later Chalukyan king Someshvara II, donated land, garden and oil mill to a Jaina temple, along with the *prabhu* and *mahajanans* of Tadkhel in Deglur taluka of Nanded district. Eventually he constructed four Shiva temples at Karadkhed in Deglur taluka of Nanded district and in 1079 CE, now styled as *Mahamandaleshvara*, donated land and two villages to these temples. One of these temples was called Kalichoresvara, which could have been named after his son or a relative, though not specifically mentioned. But in 1088 CE, we find one Kalichorasa at Karadkhed, making donations of village, land plots and house-sites to a temple, probably at Karadkhed along with one Rebbaladevi. She is referred to as *Mahamandaleshvari* in Adampur inscription of 1116 CE, when she made donations to a temple of Mulasthan along with a number of local officials. The temple was probably located at Adampur, in Biloli taluka of Nanded district. She could have herself been ruling the area or could have been wife of some *Mahamandaleshvara*, probably Kalichorasa. In 1113 CE, she had made some donations to a Someshvara temple, probably situated at Sagroli, also in Biloli taluka. In Hottul inscription of 1120 CE, the deity to whom the grant was given is called 'Rebbeshvaradeva'. It could have been named after Rebbaladevi. Under later Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI and later on under Someshvara III, *Mahamandaleshvara* Ereyamarasa was ruling this area. In 1122 CE, he donated a village to a Shiva temple at Bemra in Deglur taluka of Nanded district, contributing in a joint grant along with Suggaladevi, queen of Vikramaditya VI and another person. In 1130 CE he donated three villages to the temple of Somanatha at Karadkhed, which was built by Karkarasa about 50 to 55 years back. In 1138 CE, he donated land and house-site to a temple of Keshava at Yeragi in Deglur taluka, while in 1149 CE, he donated some land to a temple of Mulasthan, also at Yeragi.

Under the Shilahara king Gandaraditya, *Mahasamanta* Nimbarasa built at least two Jaina temples in Kolhapur town. *Mahapradhan* Vyomashambhu or Vyomashiva, under the Shilahara ruler Aparaditya II, probably built a Shiva temple in Thane area and named the deity after himself as the deity to which Vyomashiva made over a grant as recorded the Lonad inscription of 1184 CE is called Vyomeshvara. In 1162 CE, he had also provided for the repair of another temple, probably in the vicinity of Vasai. The Yadava general Kholeshvara patronised a number of temples and other charitable deeds in Ambejogai. In 1228-29 CE, he made elaborate donations including village, orchards, fields, cash and agricultural produce for the maintenance of Sakaleshvara temple at Ambejogai. The Amejogai grant of 1228-1229 CE records that he also built temple of Sarangadharin at Achalapura (Elichpur, Amaravati district), several *sattras*, temples and wells in Varadatata (Vidarbha). An undated inscription from a structure known as Chaubhara at Ambejogai, records that he built a temple dedicated to Yogeshvari, apparently at Ambejogai and endowed it with a village. This temple is described as an imposing structure, resembling the peak of a divine mountain, Meru and adorned with golden *kalashas*. Kholeshvara endowed the temple with beautiful golden ornaments set with a variety of precious stones. It is not clear if this is the same temple as the one, which is still extant and is a famous pilgrimage centre. His daughter Lakshmi built a temple at Ambejogai after his memory and endowed it with donations.

The Palasdev inscription of 1157 or 1158 CE records that the Vishnu temple at Palasdev in Pune district was built by *Dandanayaka* Changdeva. This Changdeva is probably the same person that is mentioned in the Patne inscription of 1153-54 CE as the minister of Nikumbha king Indraraja.

There are quite a few references to the construction of temples by these officials and feudatories, either mentioned specifically or revealed indirectly in the inscriptions. In the middle of 11th century CE, Mallagavunda of Ekkalagave or Eklara in Mukhed taluka of Nanded built two temples, one at Eklara and another at Suggaon, also in Mukhed taluka. Mahapradhan and Senapati Bhimanatha, minister as well as army chief of the later Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI, built temples of Brahma, Shiva, Vishnu, Ganesh, Kshetrapala and Chandi at Pippalgram or Hippalgaon in Nilanga taluka of Latur district and donated land for their maintenance. He also built a temple called, 'Bhimarka', which could have been a Sun

temple. He had received this village from the king. He also appears to have carried out irrigation works at the village since the temples were situated on the bank of Bhimasamudra, apparently a large tank, in which he installed 'temples of twelve gods'. This tank must have been a stepped well with icons of gods/goddesses in small *devakulikas* along its sides. The Hippalgaon inscription of 1099 CE carries a long *prashasti* of this minister, which records his other charitable deeds. He built a Vishnu temple at Bhuvan in Partuda taluka of Parbhani district, a Shiva temple at Shivapur in Hadgaon taluka of Nanded district and a Shiva temple at the Chalukyan capital, Kalyani in Bidar district of Karnataka. He also installed a number of icons, endowed elaborate grants of villages for the maintenance of various temples. He also performed sacrifices, built *sattras*, halls and tanks at few sites in Nanded and Osmanabad districts. Under the later Chalukyan king Someshvara I, his army chief Nagavarma built about five temples at Tadkhel in Deglur taluka of Nanded district. In 1123 CE, *Mahamandaleshvara* Hemmadideva, along with his wife and two sons gave a grant for the repair and renovation of Hemmeshvara temple at the capital city of Umbaravani or Umarani in Sangli district. The name of the temple indicates that it was probably built by Hemmadideva himself at his capital city Umbaravani. Even today, this temple is known as Hemalinga temple.

b) Kings and Royal family

The next most highly represented class is royalty, kings and the members of royal family like prince, queen and other relatives. This class endowed 51 grants independently and 12 grants as part of joint effort, recorded in composite grants. Most of the grants were given by the kings, while a few were given by other members of royal household.

The main activity of this class was giving grants to temples, which were built by officials, feudatories and others, very often following the petition and requests by these communities. There are only seven incidents of temples built by the kings and two by other members of the royal household. One of these was built by the Vakataka king Rudrasena at Chikmara in Brahmapuri taluka of Chandrapur district. It was the earliest temple in Maharashtra, though not extant today. Of the others, two were built by the Shilaharas, one by Nikumbha king, one by Yadava ruler and one by Paramara king. The Shiva temple at Ambarnatha was built by the Shilahara king Chittaraja, while the Shiva temple at Kolhapur

was built by Shilahara Bhojadeva. Yadava king Melugideva built a temple of a goddess possibly at Dhabadev in Dhule district. King Indraraja of less known Nikumbha dynasty built a Shiva temple at Patne in Jalgaon district. Of these, the temples at Ambaranath and Patne still stand and are beautiful examples of contemporary temple architecture, while others have disappeared. There are a few indirect references to royal temples. The Mehun inscription of 807/825 CE narrating the history of the temple to which grants were given, states that the Sun temple was originally built by king Shubhakanta of Haihaiya dynasty with the permission from the Early Chalukyan king Vikramaditya (654-681 CE), who also donated land to the temple. Eventually, this temple collapsed and a new Sun temple was built on the same site in 807 CE. The *panchayatana* temple of Shiva at Miraj was made a royal monument by the Shilahara king Marasimha as recorded in the Miraj plates of 1058 CE. It could either mean that the temple was built by the king or just that the temple was endowed with donations by the king.

Among the relatives of the kings was the Vakataka queen Prabhavati Gupta's daughter, whose name is lost. She built a Narasimha temple at the famous site of Ramtek in Nagpur district. The other example is of the Yadava king Krishnadeva's brother-in-law, who built a temple, probably at Manur in Majalgaon taluka of Bid district.

There are four examples of queens making donations to the temples, three as joint efforts and one independently. As mentioned above, Suggaladevi, queen of later Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI, gave a grant along with *dandanayaka* and another person in 1122 CE at Bemra in Nanded district. Queen Rajaladevi of later Chalukyan king Someshvara III made some grant to a Shiva temple at Andur, Tuljapur taluka of Osmanabad district, in 1136 CE. Similarly, Rambhadevi, the queen of Kalachuri king Bijjala made a donation along with others in 1166 CE to a Jaina temple, probably at Malakavathe in Solapur district. In 1171 CE, Harladevi, queen of Kalachuri king Soyideva made a grant along with the king to the famous temple of Mallikarjuna at Shrishailam in Andhra Pradesh.

c) Common people

About 29 inscriptions record the endowing activities of people, who can be termed as commoners, people following various professions and obviously belonging to the general

populace. As recorded in eight more composite grants, they also contributed in the joint efforts. In many cases, however, these donors were relatives of royal officials or feudatories, possibly themselves holding some important position in the society. But since there is no clear indication to their designation, they are termed as commoners here. In most cases, only the names of these commoners are given without any indication to their socio-economic background, while occasionally their professions are mentioned. The Bhalvani grant of 1170 CE records the donations made by a group of tailors and weavers and the Madgrihal inscription of 1172 CE refers to the entire population of Malige or Madgrihal town making endowments to temples. An interesting record is from Pandharpur dated to the period from 1273-74 CE to 1276-77 CE. During these four years, a number of grants were given by various people from different parts of Maharashtra and also outside Maharashtra to the Vitthal temple on the occasion of its renovation.

d) Merchants/Merchant guilds

A striking feature is very low representation of mercantile class. Only five grants are available that were given entirely by merchants and/or merchant guilds. However, there are 18 more grants given by merchants and/or merchant guilds as a part of joint efforts along with kings, royal family, officials or feudatories. There is only one grant that was given solely and singly by a merchant as recorded in Kumbhari inscription of 12th-13th century CE. All the rest were given by a group of merchants, specifically mentioning their names and the guilds they belonged to. Even when the grants were given by merchant guilds, usually various guilds collaborated in making the endowments and only in one instance a single guild made the donation. When the guilds made donations, the names of merchants along with the specifications of their guilds are given in some cases. The Solapur grant of 12th century CE records donation of dues/taxes from Anamdura 300 by various merchant guilds. Some of the merchants whose names have been specified were from Banavase 12000 and Halasuge 12000 in Karnataka.

There is not a single grant that records the construction of temple by merchants or merchant guilds. But names of some of the temples indicate that they were probably built by the merchants. The Jaina temple, which was endowed with a grant as recorded in Dharmapuri inscription of 11th century CE, was called Besakisettiya *basti*, obviously built by a merchant

called Besakisetti. Similarly, another Jaina temple at Kolhapur, which was given a grant in 1139 CE, was called Marasingasettiya *basti*. In fact, the donor of this grant, *Dandanayaka* Dasimarasa was urged by the merchants of the town to make this endowment. The Bhalvani inscriptions of 1156 CE and 1170 CE refer the deity to which elaborate grants were made, as Gavareashvara, evidently named after the Gavare guild and probably built by it. This temple was endowed with elaborate donations by various guilds, including the Gavares. The Yogeshvara Mahadeva temple, which was endowed with three grants in 1180 CE, 1187 CE and 1212 CE was located at Gavareshvarapur, probably a suburb of Mardi in Solapur district. It could have been a settlement of Gavares. The Keshava temple at Yeragi in Deglur taluka of Nanded district to which a grant was made in 1138 CE was a part of a large temple called 'Nakhareshvara', obviously built by Nakaras/Nagaras or merchants.

The most frequently represented guild is Vira Bananjus or 500 svamis of Ayyavole, the famous and most powerful guild of south India that operated in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh from 9th century CE. Other guilds are Mummuridandas, Ubhayanadesis, Gavare, Gatriga, Settigutta, Bira soldiers, Bira Vaniga, Muligaru and Aruvattokkalu. Apart from these, a Nagara of Bhalavani is mentioned in the Bhalavani inscription of 1173 CE. Telunga-nagaras are mentioned as patrons in the inscription dated to 11th century CE from Dharmapuri in Bid district. Vira Bananjus guild is supposed to have originated at Ayyavole or Aihole in Karnataka. Eventually it spread to the other parts of south India. Their latest reference is said to be in 1680 CE. The guild included various classes of the merchants, who traded in all sorts of commodities, both inland and overseas and visited far off regions. From the *prashasti* of this guild in various records of Karnataka narrating mythical origin of the guild and high-sounding titles, it is clear that it was a very powerful guild of south India in medieval period (Gururajachar 1974, pp. 119-126). The most important persons of the Vira Bananjus were constituted into a board known as 500 Svamis of Ayyavole, which is referred to in the inscriptions ranging from 8th to 17th centuries CE (Verma 1970, pp. 278-79). Mummuridandas was another powerful guild of south India. The nature of this guild is not very clear. In the *prashasti* of this guild, similar to that of Vira Bananjus, they are claimed to have originated from the 500 Svamis of Ayyavole and are praised for their valour and other virtues (Gururajachar 1974, pp. 118-119). Ubhayanadesis were the merchants, who traded both within the country and also outside the country. This guild included merchants from various regions (Gururajachar 1974, pp. 117-118). The

Muligaru and Aruvattokkalu were agricultural guilds, the former representing the land owners and latter those, who held land tenancies (Ramesh and Sharma 1974). Nagara was the generic term used for all traders and trading community in south India and meant guild of local traders (Champakalakshmi 1996, p. 313). The reference to the Telunga-nagaras in the inscription from Dharmapuri in Bid district is understandable as this area is physically closer to Andhra Pradesh. Gavare was the guild of makers of baskets, mats etc, Gatriga was the guild of traders carrying goods on carts, Settigutta was the guild of money-lenders, Bira soldier was the guild of soldiers accompanying trading caravans, while Bira Vaniga was the guild of soldiers, who carried on trade (Kolte 1987, pp. 331-348). A few inscriptions from southern Maharashtra mention donations by Entuhittu, which were heads of eight types of traders/artisans (Kumbhar 2001b).

Interestingly, except the inscription from Anjaneri in Nasik district, dated to 1142 CE, all the other inscriptions recording grants by merchants are from south Maharashtra in Solapur and Sangli districts and from southeastern parts of Maharashtra in Nanded and Bid districts. The merchant guilds mentioned in the inscriptions are those, which were operating from south India as referred to above. Thus, the prominence of mercantile community is evident in south Maharashtra. But there are a few indirect references to merchants and trading activities from the other parts as well. The Bhare inscription of 997 CE from Thane district mentions the merchants Ambu Shreshthi and Vappaiya Shreshthi among the dignitaries of the town, in the presence of whom the grant was issued. Similarly, the Chinchani grant of 1034 CE from Thane district also mentions a few merchants as town dignitaries. The donations to a Jaina temple in northern parts of Nasik district as recorded in the Kalvan inscription of the mid 11th century CE included fourteen shops (*vanik-hattah*) along with land, garden and oil-mills.

e) Women

Three grants were given by women independently, while they contributed in two composite grants. The donors of all five grants were related to officials or feudatories. Rebbaladevi, donor of 1113 CE grant from Sagroli in Naded district, was as mentioned earlier, either *Mahamandaleshavari* herself or was the wife of a *Mahamandaleshvara*. Other donors were Lakshmi, daughter of Yadava general Kholeshvara and Chammave, wife of

Mahapradhan Devapayya, mentioned in Ambejogai inscription of 1240 CE and Gadhinglaj inscription of 13th century CE respectively. The donor mentioned in the composite grant of Akkalkot grant of 1114 CE was the nurse of later Chalukyan prince Tailapadeva, while Paitaladevi, the donor mentioned in another composite grant of 1218 CE from Darphal in Solapur district was the wife of an official. Of these, Lakshmi, Chammave and Paitaladevi built temples, while the others gave donations to the temples.

B) NATURE AND TERMS OF ENDOWMENTS

The grants included villages, plots of land, cash, taxes, oil-mills, houses and other items. The table below specifies the types of endowing activities that were recorded in inscriptions.

Types of Endowing Activities	
Donation	No of records
Construction of Temple	24
Construction of Temple and Grant	15
Consecration of temple and Grant	1
Construction of Temple Parts (Pillar, <i>torana</i> , platform) and/or Grant	5
Construction of temple and Installation of Icon	1
Installation of icon and/or grant	3
Renovation/Repair of temple	4
Village/s	34
Land	49
Cash	9
Taxes	11
Oil-mill/s	2
House	2
Composite	66
N.A.	29
Total	255

Table 4: Types of Endowing Activities

a) Land

The most commonly granted endowment was of land, recorded in as many as 118 grants. While 49 inscriptions record grant of land, 55 more inscriptions record grant of land along with other items such as house, cash, oil-mills, shops, gardens, taxes and a few commodities, classified as composite grants in the above table. Fourteen more inscriptions

record the grant of land along with recording the construction of temple, installation of icon and construction of temple parts.

The plots of land of varying sizes were donated to the temples and associated staff for their maintenance. The boundaries of donated lands were well defined in many cases, which indicate that the land thus granted was mostly situated in inhabited village with earlier grants or land of particular persons around it. In most cases, the land was situated around the temple; however, a few important temples received a number of plots from nearby villages. In 1279 CE, the Unakadeva temple at Unakadeva in Nanded district received about twenty plots of land, located in twenty different villages around Unakadeva. In few cases, the donated land could have been fallow land situated outside the village as the boundaries of such land consisted of natural features such as hills, watercourse etc. The donated land was marked with marker stones, which in some cases had specific marks. Anjaneri inscription of 710-11 CE mentions that these marker stones had figures of goddess Durga and cows (Mirashi, V. V. 1955, No. 1, pp. 146-154).

The donated land was of different types such as pastureland, rice fields (wet-land), fields growing *bajra*, *jawar* etc (dry-land), orchard etc. A grant from Ambejogai, dated to 1144 CE, refers to the donation of land having *salvan* (growing rice) and *dande* (growing *jawar*, *bajra*) to a Shiva temple. There is a curious reference to donation of land called Rhat or Bhat Siwar enjoyed by the Shudras in Tervan grant from Ratnagiri district, dated to 1261 CE. The land was divided into different types on the basis of its quality. There is a reference to 'best land' in the Kolhapur grant of 1194 CE and to 'medium quality land' in Miraj copper-plates of 1154 CE. The Madgrihal grant of 1172 CE from Sangli district and Pulunj grant of 1200 CE from Solapur district refer to land called Kammata, which was an estate cultivated by land-owner with his own farming stock, but with the help of labourers. The Unakadeva grant of 1279 CE from Nanded district makes a specific mention of donation of fields growing tamarind and lemon. Ter inscription of 1163 CE refers to the grant of 'land with continuous income or produce'. The land is also known by various names, possibly after individuals, owners or important personalities, as mentioned in few of the inscriptions.

Very often the donated plots of land and orchards were made tax-free. The Parel inscription of 1187 CE that records cash donation out of the produce of an orchard by

Shilahara Aparaditya II, specifically mentions that the orchard was exempted from all additional taxes and anyone, who would levy such taxes would incur sins.

Most common land-measure was *nivarttana*. But it does not seem to have been a standard measure as there is a mention to ‘largest *nivarttana*’ and ‘smallest *nivarttana*’ in the Kolhapur grant of 1191 CE. Another land-measure, most frequently mentioned is *mattara*, which was possibly Kannada equivalent to Sanskrit term *nivarttana* (Ritti and Shelke 1968). There are occasional references to *kamma*, *gavyuti*, *dharana*, *dhura*, *kolaga*, *vitta*, *yoja* and *vapaka* or *vapraka* as land-measures. The last measure appears to have been smaller denomination of *nivarttana*, while exact measurement of other measures is not clear. The land was measured by rods, which were not of standard size, but varied in different areas. The Akkalkot grant of 1114 CE records donation of 100 *mattara* land measured by the pole of Benkolva, while another grant from Akkalkot, dated to 1122 CE refers to pole of Buguda. The Bhalvani grant of 1156 CE from Sangli district mentions the rod of Kappadikou, the Umrani grant of 1166 CE from Sangli district refers to the rod of Hiriyakolu and Madgrihal inscription of 1172 CE from Sangli district mentions the rod of Kanneshvara. The Kolhapur inscription of 1126 CE and Bamani inscription of 1150 CE from Kolhapur district refer to the rod of Kundi country, while Kolhapur grants of 1182 CE and 1190 CE mention the rod of Edenada. The Ter grant of 1163 CE refers to the rod of Shalivahana. Thus, the measure rods appear to have been named after some personality or as prevalent in particular area.

The land-grants were usually accompanied by grants of ‘*niveshana*’ or house/house-sites, which were apparently given for the large temple staff of Brahmanas and other professionals such as musicians, dancers, actors, *devadasis*, gardeners, washer-men, goldsmiths etc as mentioned in the Jogeshvari grant of 1137 CE and Bhalvani grant of 1156 CE. However, the houses were also used for storing grains and fodder as mentioned in a few inscriptions. There is a reference to the donation of house as a storehouse of fodder in the Pulunj grant of 1200 CE, while the Kolhapur inscription of 1182 CE records the donation of a house to a *matha* to serve as a granary among other things. There must have been difference in the quality of the house as the Kolhapur grant of 1190 CE refers to the ‘first rate house’ and ‘middle type’ of house (Mirashi 1977, No. 59, pp. 264-267).

b) Village

The next most common endowment was of entire village, which is recorded in 52 grants. While 34 inscriptions record grants of villages, 13 grants record grant of village along with other items and five more record constructions of temples and donation of entire villages to these temples. A few temples were endowed with more than one village recorded in single inscription. The Bhogeshvara temple near Anjaneri in Nasik district was endowed with eight villages in 7th century CE. Similarly, two Jaina temples near Malegaon in Nasik district were granted eight villages by the Rashtrakuta king Indra III. In most cases, the villages granted were situated near the site of the temple, within the area of about 20 to 25 kilometers. The boundaries of the donated villages were specified in most cases specifying natural features such hills, river, trees, forests or roads and other villages as the case may be. The villages were given along with a few fiscal, judicial and administrative rights as in the case of grants given to Brahmanas. The early inscriptions of 7th-8th century CE from Nasik district record the rights of *udaranga* (major tax), *upankara* (minor tax), exemption from all dues, forced labour & special rights, non-admission of *chatas* & *bhatas* (royal police and army) and full powers of adjudication with the donated villages. By 10th-11th century a standardised set of eight rights was evolved that accompanied the donation of any village. The fiscal privileges were exemption from a few taxes and right over all the produce, along with trees & nine kinds of buried treasures. The administrative right was the jurisdiction over the village and right to punish ten offences, while the royal police and army (*chata* & *bhata*) were not allowed entry in the donated villages. Thus, the temple almost had full control over the donated villages.

c) Taxes/Dues/Revenues

Another significant donation was of various dues and revenues. The merchants collaborated in levying taxes on the sale and purchase of various items and also various mercantile organisations such as mint, shops, market of rice, grains etc (*Bhaktamandapika*), market of mangoes, guild of oil merchants, money lenders' market, coin counters, retailers as mentioned in Dharmapuri grant of 1134 CE and on tax-collectors, farmstead and fiscal officers as referred to in Madgrihal grant of 1172 CE. These taxes were levied both in kind as well as cash. The dues were also levied on sale and purchase of a variety of commodities such as betel-leaves, areca nuts, *ghee*, oil, spices, different kinds of grains, fruits, cotton, flowers, salt, etc as mentioned in most of the grants recording donation of taxes. There is a

specific mention to dues on fixed amount of each commodity either in cash or kind. In a few cases the duration of the dues is mentioned as monthly or annually. There is an interesting reference to the dues on the sale of horses coming from outside in Akkalkot grant of 1092 CE, Desinga Borgaon grant of 1150 CE and Madgrihal grant of 1172 CE. The Kharepatan grant of 1008 CE mentions toll tax in cash on every vessel arriving from foreign land and from the western coast except from the port of Cheul and Chandrapura. In all cases, a variety of dues were given as a single grant. Occasionally, taxes on towns or on each village of a particular district or house taxes were also donated. Some of the taxes mentioned in the inscriptions are *dashabandha* (1/10th of the produce), *siddhya* (from calf-pens), *sumka* (cess on vegetables & fruit vendors), *pannaya* (probably on betel leaves), *aruvana* (land tax), *margadaya* (toll tax), *singavattige* (some kind of toll), *bannigedere* (tax on certain professions) and *perjumka* (not clear).

d) Cash, Oil-mills, Gardens and Commodities

Apart from these, donations of cash, various commodities, oil-mill, gardens etc are also recorded. The cash grants are very few in numbers. While in few cases, the amount was directly granted, in most cases it was deposited with *mahajanas* or guild of merchants and the interest was donated. The rate of interest is specified in a few grants. The most frequently mentioned currency is *gadyan* and *dramma* or *damma*. While *gadyan* was a gold coin of 87.84 grains as mentioned in Lilavati (Mirashi 1977, p. xlvi), *dramma* was a silver coin of 67.5 grains as the ancient Greek coin called drachma (Tulpule 1963, p. 101). It appears that these coins were of different types in different areas. The Lonad grant of 1184 CE and Chanje grant of 1260 CE refer to *poruthi* or *paruttha drammas*, Pulunj grant of 1200 CE mentions *gajamalla gadyan* and Akkalkot grant of 1122 CE refers to *rayajagadla gadyan*, while Pandharpur grant of 1273-74 to 1276-77 CE refers to *kasturi gadyan*. Most probably *gadyan* and *hon* were interchangeable terms (Sastri K. A. 1960, p. 437). Other gold coin mentioned in a number of inscriptions is *asu*. A few varieties of this coin are mentioned in Mahanubhava literature (Tulpule 1963, p. 100). The other silver coins were *nishka*, *rupaka* and *tanka*, while *visova* was a copper coin, possibly 1/20th of a *dramma*. The Anjaneri inscription of 710-11 CE refers to the coins called, ‘*Krishnaraja rupaka*’, which were silver coins of Kalachuri king Krishna (550-575 CE) (Mirashi 1955). *Dharana*, *kapardak*, *haga*, *salike* or *salika*, *mudavan*, *adu*, *pana*, *pai*, etc were few of other coins referred to in the grants. *Dharana* was a coin weighing 24 or 320 *ratti* (Kolte 1987, pp. 331-348). *Kapardakas* were cowry shells

(Mangalam 1991, p. 196). The Ambejogai grant of 1228-29 CE refers to the use of cowries as money. Ten *pana* equaled to a *gadyan*, while *haga* was one fourth of *pana* (Sastri K. A. 1960, pp. 437-438). These could have been silver or copper coins. The Dharmapuri grant of 1134 CE mentions coins called '*vrishabha*' (coin with the figure of bull) and '*muktikruta*' (coin with the figure of a free bull). The Palasdev grant of 1157 CE mentions 'pieces of gold' as money.

Among other items, most important item was an oil-mill, given for burning a lamp in the temple. The Chinchani grant of 1034 CE mentions that the oil was also to be used for besmearing the feet of the scholars and Brahmana visitors of the *mathika*. A few inscriptions record grant of as many as six to ten oil-mills to a single temple. Curiously enough, there is a striking absence of donation of milk-bearing animals for this purpose as noticed in neighbouring regions of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh (Ismail 1984, Talbot 2001). There are only two instances of donations of animals, which are not milk-bearing animals such as cows or sheep, but bullocks. The Ambejogai inscription of 1144 CE refers to donation of 35 bulls, while the Kolhapur inscription of 1238 CE records the grant of 25 bulls, both to Shiva temples. The bullocks were probably given for farming temple-lands or for transporting the grains and other such articles donated to temple. There is only one indirect reference to cow in the service of temple, as mentioned in the Akkalkot grant of 1122 CE, which records donation of land for the cowherd maintaining a cow for god's use. Other than this, there are hardly any references to cows or sheep. Thus, it appears that the lamps burnt in the temples were lit with oil, either of peanuts, sesame or other such seeds and not '*ghee*' or clarified butter, produced from milk, as probably was the case in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Curiously enough, even today the common trend in Maharashtra is to use oil for lighting a lamp in temples and not *ghee*¹.

At least 19 inscriptions mention donation of gardens, almost always given away along with land, but sometimes also with house. The Akkalkot inscription of 1122 CE records donation of three gardens along with other items by *Dandanayaka* Madhavabhatta to Shiva temples at Daithan, while the Bhalvani grant of 1170 CE records donation of ten flower gardens to Shiva temple at Bhalvani by Kalidevathya, an official under the Kalachuri king

¹ I am thankful to Dr. Vaishali Welankar for this information.

Soyideva. The Mauje Vafale inscription of 1290 CE also records donation of three flower-gardens. But in most cases a single garden was given to a temple.

Other items donated were flowers, *tulsi*, salt, grains, betel leaves, shops or stalls, spices, food products etc. The Nandgaon grant of 1254-55 CE records cash donation of one *gadyan* each, by a group of ten persons, nine of whom provided for one lakh flowers, while one person provided for two lakh flowers to be used in worship of Khandeshvara temple. The Chikurde grant of 1154 CE records donation of ornaments, white umbrella, chisel, fly whisk and musical instruments like drum, conch, horn, ten vessels for oil, five large vessels for butter-milk and five vessels for incense burning. Similarly, there is a reference to donation of culinary copper vessels to a *matha* in the Tervan grant of 1261 CE. The Madgrihal grant of 1172 CE records the donation of a saltpan in Malige (Madgrihal, Sangli district) *vishaya* by Kavutta Gavuna and Rechya Nayaka, the controllers of salt in the country of Tarikadu. This was given for the food of the ascetics in the monastery attached to the Shiva temple. There is a curious reference to donation of families of female attendants, oil-men, potters, gardeners and washer-men in the Kharepatan grant of 1008 CE, which indicates that these professionals were probably brought and settled down near temple-site to serve the temple.

These grants are referred to as faultless and free from molestation, taxes and from the interference of the royal officers. A curious mention is in the Pulunj grant of 1200 CE, which refers to the grant as free from trouble of childless person, inheritance right, theft, thieves, wicked men, labourers and enclosure tax. The grants are usually addressed to a number of local officers and in a few cases to future kings too. Some of the grants were made over in the presence of a number of dignitaries, while a few inscriptions specifically mention the approval of local governing officers.

C) PATRONAGE TRENDS

a) Trends in Endowing Activities

There are distinct trends in these patronage activities as each of this class endowed specific item as indicated in the table below.

Patronage Trends											
Donation	Patrons										
	King	Royal Family	Officials	Feudatories	Feudatory or Royal officer	Merchants/ Merchant Guilds	Commoners	Women	Composite	N.A.	Total
Construction of temple	4	2	7	2			6	1		2	24
Construction of temple and Grant	2		5	1			2		5		15
Consecration of temple and Grant									1		1
Construction of temple parts and grant			1				3		1		5
Construction of temple and installation of Icon			1								1
Installation of icon/Grant	1						1		1		3
Renovation/ Repair of temple			1				1			2	4
Village/s	15	1	5	6			1		3	3	34
Land	9		13	4	2	1	3		4	13	49
Cash	1		3				1	1	1	2	9
Taxes	1		3	2		3	1			1	11
Oil-mill				1			1				2
House							1			1	2
Composite	12	1	15	9		1	5	1	20	2	66
N.A.		1	9				3		1	15	29
Total	45	5	63	25	2	5	29	3	37	41	255

Table 5: Patronage Trends

In most cases the kings granted entire villages and land, with house/house-site in some cases. There is a single instance of king donating only taxes (Jogeshvari grant of 1137 CE), oil-mill (Chinchani grant of 1034 CE) or cash (Kandhar grant of 10th century CE) each, though there are a few instances of donation of cash along with land/village. The king must have had full control over villages/land. However, there is an instance of Shilahara king Gandaraditya purchasing land for donation in a village in Kolhapur district from the village heads (*rajaya* & *senaya*) as recorded in the Kolhapur inscription of 1126 CE. It is possible that the concerned land was personal property of the village heads. As mentioned earlier, the instances of kings building temples are very few. The royal family also made the donation of village or land along with taxes and cash in one case.

The royal officials used to grant both, villages and land. However, the largest numbers of these grants record donation of land along with house, cash and other commodities such as oil-mills in some cases. There are four grants recording donation of a village by a royal official, while one grant records donation of more than one village. The instances of this class granting cash and taxes are comparatively few. It is obvious that these officials had right to grant land/villages/taxes, as, though the name of the overlord was mentioned, his permission was not sought except in a few cases as referred to in the Chinchani grant of 926 CE and Lonad grant of 1184 CE. Only four inscriptions record that the donated land was purchased by the donor either from Mahajanas or Brahmanas (Akkalkot 1122 CE, Kolhapur 1191 CE, Kolhapur 1194 CE, Savargaon 1293-94 CE). The two donated *vruttis* as recorded in Mardi grant of 1180 CE was probably bought from a merchant, Vasugi Setti, a coin minter and the official who made the donation is said to have bought it in 'regular method'. Otherwise it appears that the officials had full control over the area around donated land/village. The Tadkhel inscription of 1047 CE mentions that the village Tadakullu was granted to Nagavarma, 'the *prabhu* of Tadakallu' by the Later Chalukyan king Someshvara I on the occasion of his offering 16 *danas* and on the occasion of Nagavarma's marriage as he had achieved many victories on behalf of the king. He was also made chief of the army. The Ganeshwadi inscription of 1099 CE mentions that Mahapradhan and Senapati Bhimanatha had received the village of Pippalgram (suburb of Ganeshwadi) from the Later Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI. The Karadkhed inscription of 1113 CE records the donation of village Aluru, which was secured by the Mahamandaleshvara Madanakaranarasa as '*samantike*'. The Tervan grant of 1261 CE mentions that the donor obtained the village of Tervan by the favour of Later Chalukyan king Kanvadirai. Karkarasa, a subordinate chief of the later Chalukyan

king Someshvara II, who as mentioned above built a few temples and gave elaborate grants in the area around Deglur taluka of Nanded district, bore the title of ‘*Amaravatipuravareshvara*’ (lord of Amaravatipura). Amaravati was the sanskritised form of Avaravadi in Kannada, identified with Aurala in Biloli taluka of Nanded district. It was the subdivision of ‘*Sayirabada*’ or ‘*Grama Sahastraka*’ mentioned in several inscriptions from Nanded district (Thosar 2004, p. 372). Apparently he had complete control over the area in question. Though not specifically mentioned in most cases, it appears that estates were given away to various officers possibly in return of services provided by them. However, the grants were still made with the consent of local officers and other dignitaries. As many as 13 grants record construction of a temple by an official, five of which were provided with donations of land/village. There is a solitary instance of a group of officials constructing a temple as recorded in the Ambejogai inscription of 1188 CE. There are a few indirect references to the construction of temples by this class as narrated in the brief history of temples recorded occasionally in a few inscriptions. Thus, the *trikuta* Shiva temple, to which a grant of land is recorded in Solapur inscription of 1135 CE, was built by an official. The temples of Shiva and Vishnu at Daithan and Lakshmi-Narayana temple at Mandavi were constructed by officials as recorded in the Akkalkot inscription of 1122 CE and Mandavi inscription of 1203 CE.

The grants by mercantile community included donation of cash and dues/taxes in most cases. Though there are a few instances of grant of land, there is not a single case of merchants donating entire villages. The Pandharpur grant of 1189-90 CE records the construction of temple by a group of merchants.

The grants by common people included cash, commodities, house, land and also taxes and villages occasionally. There are at least eight inscriptions recording the construction of temple by common people either individually or as a group effort, two of which were endowed with grants. They also contributed significantly in providing for the renovation and repairs of the temples.

b) Temporal Variations

In the earlier period, when temples appeared, they were patronised solely by the royalty. By 10th century other class such as officials, feudatories and merchants became involved in temple endowments as evident from the table below.

Temporal Variations in Patronage Patterns															
Donor	Century														
	4	5	7	8	9	10	10-11	11	11-12	12	13	12-13	14	N. A.	Total
King	1		3	1		4	1	7		20	7		1		45
Royal family (Prince, Queen & other relative)		1		1						2	1				5
Royal officers						1		5		35	19	2	1		63
Feudatories					2			8	2	11	1		1		25
Feudatory or Royal officer											2				2
Merchants/ Merchants guilds								1		3		1			5
Commoners								2		4	18		3	2	29
Women										1	2				3
Composite		1		1				5		21	8		1		37
N.A.								6		13	9	5	4	4	41
Total	1	2	3	3	2	5	1	34	2	110	67	8	11	6	255

Table 6: Temporal Variations in Patronage Patterns

With the exception of two grants, all the early grants before 10th century CE were made over by the kings and royal household. From 10th century onwards the royal officials, mercantile class and a number of unspecified people from all walks of life, emerged as patrons of temples. Such a change could have been induced by changes in socio-religious outlook and rising popularity of temple along with increased faith in ‘*dana*’ to temple as a merit-earning activity. The changes in nature of polity, political structure and hierarchy could have also been responsible in elevating the position of classes other than royalty. The increased influence of officials and feudatories, who appear to have had complete control over their area of influence without much interference from the central government, could also have been one of the reasons why this class made such elaborate donations to temples. The increased number of references to the mercantile class and its contribution to temple patronage indicate prosperous conditions.

On the other hand, the contribution of royal family to temple endowment activities appears to be minimal in later period. Of the available temple-grants of Vakataka and Early Chalukya period, all were given by the kings. Of the seven grants of Rashtrakuta period, four were given by the kings, while three were given by the feudatories and an official. But the

trend appears to change from later Chalukyan period. Of 46 temple-grants of this period, only seven were given by the kings, three of which were as joint grants. There are as many as nineteen grants dated to the reign of Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI, the highest number of grants given in a reign of a single king, but none were given by the king himself, though two grants were given by the prince Mallikarjuna in Solapur area. There is only a single indirect reference to a piece of land given by Vikramaditya VI to a temple of Malleshvara at Daithan as mentioned in Akkalkot grant of 1122 CE, while recording the land donation by Mahamandaleshvara Indarasa. Similarly, the representation of Kalachuri and Yadava kings in the total temple-grants of the period is minimal. On the other hand, of the 34 grants which mention Shilaharas as ruling dynasty, as many as 22 were given by the kings themselves. There are a few grants made by the kings of the dynasties, which did not directly rule the region. Thus, there is one grant by a Hoyasala king, given to the Vitthal temple at Pandharpur and two grants by Paramara rulers in the Vidarbha region. The table and chart below explain this trend.

Royal Contribution to Temple Endowment Activity			
Dynasty	No of Grants	Donation by King & Royal Family	Donation by Royalty as part of composite grants
Vakataka	2	2	0
Bhoja-Maurya	1	0	0
Sendraka	1	1	0
Harishchandra	1	0	1
Early Chalukya	3	3	0
Rashtrakuta	7	4	0
Later Chalukya	46	4	3
Kalachuri	21	3	2
Northern Shilahara	15	9	0
Southern Shilahara	1	0	0
Kolhapur Shilahara	18	11	2
Yadava	64	8	4
Nikumbha	1	1	0
Kadamba	1	0	0
Paramara	2	2	0
Hoysala	1	1	0
Ratta	1	0	0
Tughluq	1	0	0
Bahamani	1	0	0
C omposite	4	0	0
N.A.	63	2	0
Total	255	51	12

Table 7: Royal Contribution to Temple Endowment Activity

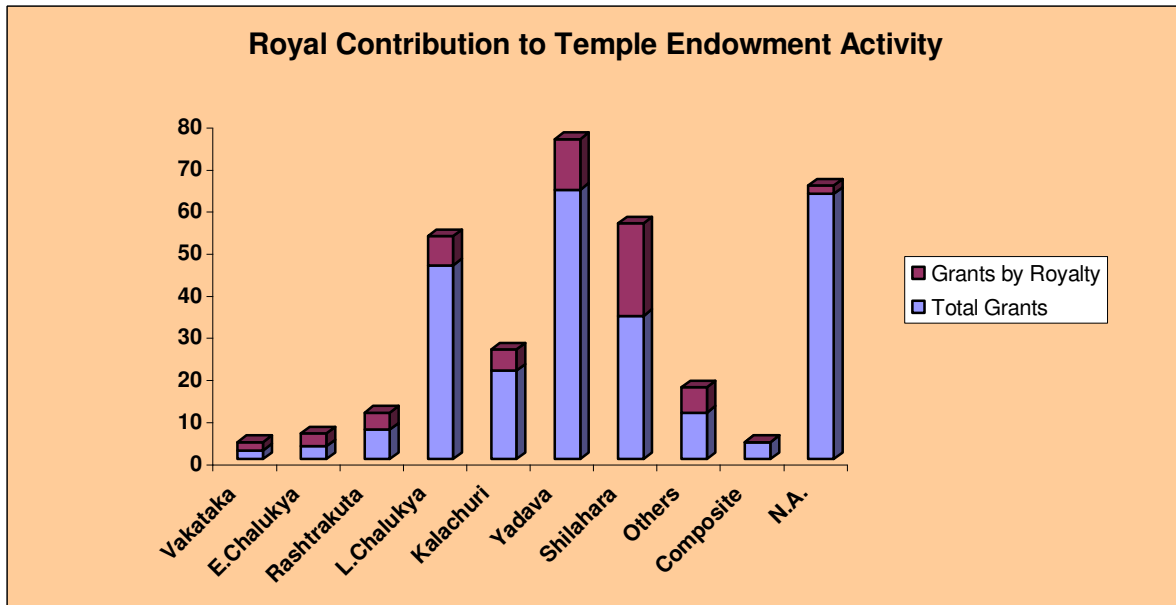


Chart 4: Royal Contribution to Temple Endowment Activity

The kings, except those of Shilahara dynasty and to some extent of Yadava dynasty, were not very actively involved in patronising temples in Maharashtra. A possible explanation of such high representation of officials and low representation of royalty could be the nature of polity and political geography of the contemporary society. The Shilahara kings, ruling in Konkan and south Maharashtra, and the Yadava kings with their capital at Devagiri, were indigenous rulers. Against this, the kings of later Chalukya and Kalachuri dynasty ruled from Karnataka and interior Maharashtra formed the peripheral region of their empire, which was assigned to various officials and vassals. Naturally they had little interest in making donations to temples situated in such interior regions. Significantly none of the rulers of these dynasties constructed any temple in Maharashtra. A handful of ‘royal temples’ were constructed by Vakatakas, Shilaharas, Yadavas and a king of Nikumbha dynasty, which had very limited and local political control. Thus, the class of people other than royalty became more actively involved in patronising temples. While all the other classes are evenly represented throughout Maharashtra, the mercantile class is confined only to Marathwada and south Maharashtra with the exception of two grants.

3.3 TEMPLE RITUALS

The *angabhoga* and *rangabhoga* of the deity were two important activities in the temple. The worship or ‘*angabhoga*’ as mentioned in the inscriptions was most important

object of donation. Different types of worships are mentioned. Most common was five-fold or eight-fold worship. The religious texts mention 16 *upacharas* (ways of service) in the procedure of *devapuja*, but it can be increased to 36 or 38 or reduced to 14, 12, 10 or 5. These 16 *upacharas* were *avahana*, *asana*, *padya* (water for washing the feet), *arghya* (water respectfully offered for washing hands), *achamaniyaka* (water for sipping), *snana* (bath), *vastra* (clothes), *yajnopavita* (sacred thread), *anulepana* or *gandha* (unguents), *pushpa* (flowers), *dhupa* (incense), *dipa* (lamp), *naivedya* (food offering), *namaskara*, *pradakshina* (circumambulation) and *visarjana* or *udvasana*. Sometimes *bhushana* (ornaments) and *tambula* (betel nut) is also added. If a person cannot afford all, he may offer only five *upacharas*, which is called *panchopachara-puja*, from *gandha* to *naivedya* (Kane 1941, pp. 729-735). This five-fold worship is mentioned in a number of inscriptions, while the eight-fold worship included *snana*, *tambula* and *dakshina*. The *dharmashastras* also prescribe that if a person cannot even afford these, he may perform all *upacharas* only with flowers (Kane 1941, pp. 729-735) and many grants make provision only for flowers. Since there is no *avahana* and *visarjana* in the case of temple icon fixed immovably on a pedestal, there must have been only 14 *upacharas*. Some of the inscriptions make specific mention of the articles to be used for worship. Sandal-wood is mentioned as a favoured unguent in many of the inscriptions. The Kandhar inscription of 10th century refers to ablutions of the gods Bankeshvara, Chhaleshvara, Gojjagasomanatha, Tumbeshvara and Tudigeshvara with curds, milk and flowers. Occasionally, a special kind of worship was also prescribed. The Nasik inscription of 7th century CE records grant for ‘*guggula puja*’ for Kapaleshvara by the Chalukya king Nagavardhana. This ritual included worship with a fragrant gum (bdellium), now confined to the worship of Virabhadra (Fleet 1880, p. 125). It may denote the penance of placing hot or burning *guggula* on one’s head. The *Harshacharita* mentions that when Harsha’s father fell ill, the populace of the capital city undertook various penances to avert his death. One of these was holding melting gum (*guggulu*) on heads to pacify Mahakala. Bhairavanatha, the priest of Harsha’s ancestor, Pushpabhuti had also practiced this penance. ‘*Yashastilaka*’ of Somadeva refers to a temple of Chandamari with devotees, who used to burn *guggula* on their heads (Lorenzen 1972, pp. 27-28). Bana in the ‘*Kadambari*’ refers to the practice of burning *guggula* in the temple of Chandika (Kane 1974, p. 39). Thus, it appears that *guggula* was specifically used for tantric deities. But the Anjaneri inscription of 710-11 CE records a cash deposit of 100 *rupaka* with a merchant guild by the official Tejavarman, the interest of which was to be spent in providing *guggula* for the worship of god Bhogeshvara every year. Bhogeshvara, installed by King Bhogashakti of Harishchandra

family, is specifically mentioned as God Narayana. Thus, *guggula* was probably used for Vaishnavite deities too. The '*Kalpataru*' observes that, one who desires health should burn *guggula*. However, according to '*Garuda Purana*', burning of *guggula* and many other types of incense had the practical advantage of destroying fleas and bees (Kane 1974, p. 39, Footnote No. 91). The Pandharpur grant of 1311 CE records grant for '*vasantpuja*', obviously to be performed on the advent of *vasant* or spring season. *Vasantotsava* or the festival of spring was one of the popular festivals in ancient and medieval India (Kane 1974, pp. 403-04). The Garasoli inscription of 1150 CE records separate grant each for regular worship and for worship on Sundays, while the Kolhapur grant of 1272 CE records grant for morning worship and '*maha naivedya*'. The Kolhapur grant of 1190 CE records grant for *naivedya* to be offered thrice a day to goddess Mahalakshmi. The Mandrup grant of 1186 CE records donation of land for offering of *hala-mandage*, a sweet wheat cake with milk. *Mande* is still a popular food item in northern Karnataka. The Pandharpur inscription of 1226 CE records the grant of milk, curd, *mande*, *kheer*, clove, asafetida etc for the god by Hoysala king Someshvara. The Paithan grant of 1100 CE refers to '*trivarna naivedya*' (offering by three *varnas*). The Paithan grant of 1100 CE mentions grant of '*devashayan*' or the bed of the god. The gift of bedstead was required in several *vratas* such as *Masopavasavrata* and *Shankarasaptami*. The former was in the honour of Vishnu, while the latter was performed for Sun. However, the bedstead donated in these cases was for the *guru* or Brahmanas (Kane 1974, pp. 381-82, 422-423). The '*devashayan*' referred to in the abovementioned inscription perhaps involved specific kind of worship performed at the time of the *shayan* or sleeping of the god.

The perpetual lamp in front of the idol was an integral and important feature of temple ritual for which either oil or a number of oil-mills were granted other than usual grant of land, taxes or cash. This was also most important object of most of grants.

The *rangabhoga* of the god included theatrical entertainment of the god including music, dance, singing and public shows at times. The Mandrup inscription of 1187 CE specifically mentions the arrangement made by the donor for the regular services of music and dance in the temple by appointing musicians, drummers, dancers etc and by providing for their maintenance.

There are occasional references to yearly festival. The Anjaneri copper-plates of 710-711 CE refers to yearly *yatra* festival of Narayana to be celebrated for a fortnight in the month of Margashirsha, while the Pandharpur grant of 1311 CE records grants for the performance of a festival in *chaitra* month. In Deccan, where the year begins with *chaitra* month, the first day or first *tithi* of the bright half is very important. It is believed that Brahma created the world on this day at sunrise and since it was placed at the first place, it is called *Pratipad*. This day is celebrated as *Chaitrapratipad*, worshipping the god of the weekday on which the *pratipad* falls, as the god of the year. All other gods are also worshipped, special food is cooked and a great festival is celebrated even today (Kane 1974, pp. 82-84). It is possible that the Pandharpur grant refers to this festival. Some specific dates were more sacred and a few grants were made for making special arrangement on these occasions. The Thane grant of 1185 CE records donation of four *dramma* out of the proceeds of an orchard in Sthanakiya-pattana (Thane) to the Somanatha temple at Prabhas Patan on five occasions in a year a) *Chaitraka*: probably full moon day in the month of *chaitra* b) *Pavitrika*: *pavitraropana vrata*, investiture of a deity with sacred thread, performed on Shiva on 8th or 14th of any of the fortnight of *Ashvin*, *Shravana* and *Bhadrapada* month c) *Shivaratri*: 14th day of the dark half of any month is *Shivaratri*, while the 14th of the dark half of Magha is *Mahashivaratri* d) *Dakshinaya*: *Karkata Sankranti*, entry of Sun in *Karkata* or Cancer *rashi* and start of Sun's passage from north to south e) *Uttarayana*: *Makara Sankranti*, entry of Sun in *Makara* or Capricornus *rashi* and start of Sun's passage from south to north (Mirashi 1977, No. 31, pp. 158-161; Kane 1974, pp. 209-225, 339-340). Interestingly, the Pandharpur grant of 1226 CE refers to the donation of 13 *gadyan* by the Hoysala king Someshvara for 'vari', a yearly pilgrimage to Pandharpur, which is still followed and is one of the most celebrated religious events in Maharashtra. The donation was probably for some celebration at the end of *vari*. The Paithan grant of 1100 CE records that a part of the donation was to be used for worship on *ekadashi*.

The rituals of Jaina temples do not appear to be very different from those performed in Brahmanical temples as the worship included same *upacharas* as mentioned in inscriptions. Almost all inscriptions from Kolhapur and surrounding region that record grants to Jaina temples refer to *ashtanga* worship of the *tirthankara* icon. The flowers, incense, offerings and perpetual lamp also formed an integral part of the ritual. The Kolhapur grant of 1139 CE refers to *Jina-pujotsava*, probably a yearly religious festival.

3.4 TEMPLE INSTITUTIONS

The temple had feeding house (*sattrā*) and monastery (*matha*) attached with it. Provisions were made for the maintenance of the *sattrā* and food as well as clothing of the ascetics residing in the monastery. Occasionally the number of Brahmanas to be fed was specified. The Tasgaon plates of 1251 CE record the donation of a village, half of which was for the worship of god, while the other half was for feeding 25 Brahmanas. The Kolhapur grant of 1126 CE records grant of village for the food of 12 Brahmanas among other things. The food included cooked white rice, soup of *tur dal*, *ghee*, buttermilk and *tambula*. The Kharepatan inscription of 1008 CE mentions grants for disciples, learned men and visitors along with other purposes. The Chinchani inscription of 1034 CE records grant of oil-mill for lamp and for besmearing oil on the feet of scholars and Brahmana visitors.

The Jaina temples also had monasteries attached to them, where the ascetics used to stay. A number of grants record donations for the provision of food for these ascetics.

The temple also had an educating institute and grants were given for maintaining this (Karadkhed 1102/1076-1126 CE). The Ganeshwadi inscription of 1099 CE refers to ‘*Sarasvati mandapa*’ where students used to study.

3.5 MANAGEMENT OF TEMPLE: TRUSTEES AND STAFF

In most cases the management of the Brahmanical temple was entrusted to a group of Brahmanas who were given a part of the grant in some cases. They were expected to conduct the daily worship, other temple-related activities, maintain the temple property and supervise the temple staff. The Tasgaon plates of 1251 CE make a specific mention of Guravas as in charge of the *bhoga* of the god and Brahmanas as supervisors of *sattrā*. The Madgrihal inscription of 1172 CE, which records the construction of two Shiva temples by an official and a number of grants to these temples, mentions that the establishment of both the temples was handed over to an ascetic. It is categorically stated that in this monastery, the offices were to be maintained according to rules and the ascetics-in-charge were supposed to conduct in godly fashion, otherwise the town assembly was empowered to bring other ascetics to handle the temples. Apparently there was a set of rules to be followed in managing the temple

and Brahmanas in-charge were expected to conduct in certain way. The mismanagement of the temple could be checked by local governing bodies. There is a solitary instance of merchants as the trustees of temple as mentioned in the Anjaneri grant of 710-711 CE where merchant representative of the town of Jayapura were appointed as the supervisors of the temple of Narayana at Jayapura. The Jaina temple was entrusted to a Muni or Acharya.

The temple appears to have maintained a large staff to carry out various activities and to take care of needs as well as property of the temple. In a few grants, there is specific mention of dividing the grant, either land or cash, among different people, evidently associated with the temple. Thus, Bhandarkavathe grant of 1069 CE, Akkalkot grant of 1122 CE, Chikurde grant of 1154 CE, Miraj plates of 1154 CE, Mandrup grant of 1187 CE, Mauje Vafale grant of 1290 CE and Pandharpur grant of 1311 CE refer to grants to blacksmith, actors, doorkeepers of temple, cowherd, horsemen, *devadasi*, goldsmiths, carpenter, barbers, washer-men, fisher-men, farmers, untouchables, musicians, drummers, dancers, gardeners and also ascetics and schools imparting education. The Akkalkot grant assigns 60 *mattara* land to one Masanoja for the service of ringing a bell at the time of incense burning. The land, gardens and livestock granted to the temples were handed over to the farmers, gardeners and cowherds, probably associated with temple in some cases. It is not clear what sort of arrangement was made between them and the temple, whether they were merely in charge of temple property or they handed over only a part of the produce of land or livestock to the temple keeping the rest for them. The temple also maintained staff of musicians, dancers, actors and *devadasis* for musical as well as theatrical performances. There is specific mention to different type of musicians in the Mauje Vafale inscription of around 1290 CE, such as conch bower, *mridanga* players, *dundubhi* players, bell players, musicians playing *kahalik* (*dundubhi* like instrument) and *chandali* (trumpet like instrument). The services of blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, barbers, fisher-men, washer-men and untouchables were necessary for the ornaments of icons, other construction works and for the services of Brahmanas associated with the temple.

Interestingly, some of the Jaina temples also probably had courtesans attached to them. The Kolhapur inscription of around first half of 12th century CE records the construction of Adinatha temple at Kolhapur by Nimbadeva, feudatory of Shilahara Gandaraditya. This temple is described as extensive and beautiful with “excellent merchants’

and courtesans' quarters on both sides, with an extensive *mana-stambha* and a storeyed house".

In some cases when temples were in need for money, the temple land was mortgaged. The Mardi grant of 1182 CE records that the land belonging to Siddheshvara temple, which was held under mortgage by Gandhiya Ballisetti, was paid for and was re-granted to it. It is not clear who was renewed this grant. However, it is made clear that the temple land should not be mortgaged in future. The inscription clearly states that being a mortgagee was a bigger offence than being the mortgager and anyone, including the king himself, who accepted the mortgage of temples lands, was liable to fines (Ritti and Kumbhar 1988).

3.6 RELIGIOUS TRENDS

While about 29 inscriptions do not furnish information about the sect to which the grants were given, largest number of inscriptions refers to the Brahmanical temples. There is a solitary inscription recording a grant to Buddha, while about 29 grants were given to Jaina temples. There are a few composite grants, which record donations to more than one deity at a time. The table and chart below reveals the religious trends as reflected in the inscriptions.

Religious Trends															
Donee	Century														
	4	5	7	8	9	10	10-11	11	11-12	12	13	12-13	14	N. A.	Total
Shiva		1	2			1	1	16	2	60	39	6	2	4	134
Vishnu		1		1				1		10	3		1	1	18
Krishna										1	1				2
Vitthal										1	2		1		4
Goddess				1		1		3		3	7		2		17
Sun			1	1	2	1					1				6
Mulasthan								1		5					6
Jaina						2		7		16	2		1	1	29
Composite								1		6	2	1			10
N.A.	1							5		8	10	1	4		29
Total	1	2	3	3	2	5	1	34	2	110	67	8	11	6	255

Table 8: Religious Trends

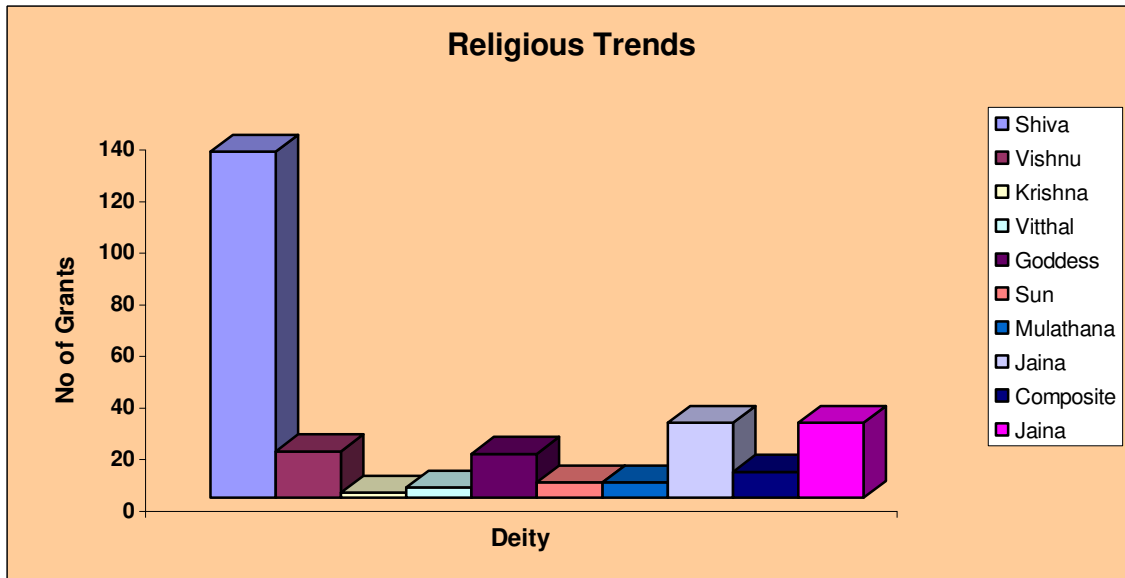


Chart 5: Religious Trends

With the exception of four grants, all were made over to the temples in Maharashtra. The Hottul inscription, datable to the latter half of 11th century CE records grant of income of villages in Yergi *vishaya* near Hottul by a vassal of Later Chalukyan king Someshvara to the Siddheshvara temple at Kalyan, the capital of later Chalukyas in the Bidar district of Karnataka. The Thane copper-plates of 1185 CE record grant of the income of an orchard in Thane by *Mahamtya* of Shilahara king Aparaditya II to the famous temple of Somanatha at Prabhas Patan in Saurashtra, while the Parel inscription of 1187 CE records the income of an orchard in a village in Shatashashti (Mumbai) by the Shilahara king Aparaditya II to another famous temple of Vaidyanatha at Dabhoi in Baroda district of Gujarat. Another famous temple, which received a grant of a village in Solapur district, was the temple of Mallikarjuna at Shrishailam in Andhra Pradesh as recorded in the Shivani inscription of 1171 CE.

A) Shiva

It is clear that Shaivism was most popular sect to which more than half of the grants were made over. The Kalamukha sect, offshoot of Pashupata Shaivism, was most prominent. The line of ascetics of this sect is mentioned in the inscriptions from Kolhapur (10th-11th century CE), Marathwada (Tadkhel, Karadakhed, Sagroli, Ardhapur) and Solapur district (Tirtha, Bhandarakavathe, Mardi, Darphal etc). The Pashupata sect was also present as evident from the Miraj plates of 1058 CE. One of the earliest temples of Kapalika sect was somewhere in Nasik district, which was endowed with a village near Igatpuri as recorded in

7th century CE copper-plates from Nasik district. The grant was made for the worship of Kapaleshvara and for the maintenance of ascetics residing in the temple. Another grant of 10th-11th century CE records grants to the temple of Kapaleshvara at Kolhapur.

While most of the Shiva temples and *lingas* were named after the donor, his/her relative or patron, a few names are interesting. Some of these such as Madan-dahan referred to in Patne inscription of 1153-54 CE and Tripurantakadeva as mentioned in Mangalvedha inscription of 1235 CE point at the Puranic stories associated with Shiva cult. In the Akkalkot grant of 1223 CE, Shiva is called Pishachamochana Kudala Shri Svayambhu Sangameshvaradeva. This temple was at Hilli, which is called 'Dakshina Varanasi'. This site cannot be located on the map, but must have been on the confluence of rivers. At Kudal in Solapur district, located on the confluence of rivers Bhima and Sina, Shiva is called Sangameshvara. The deity at Patoda in Bid district is also called Sangameshvara apparently because the village is situated on the confluence of the rivers Sayala and Manjra. There are seven temples dedicated to Shiva on account of which it is also known as the abode of '*sapta rishis*'. The *linga* in Gupteshvara temple is underneath a pool of water formed by the confluence (Bid District Gazetteer, 1969, p.662).

Six inscriptions record donations for a deity called Mulasthan. This deity either called 'Mulastan' or 'Mulasthan' occurs in a number of Kannada inscriptions from 8th century CE. According to Khare it was a form of Khandoba, while according to Dhere it was associated with Mailara. But as in the Miraj and Chikurde plates Mulasthan is mentioned independently from Mailara, it must have been an independent deity. Presently, this deity is worshipped in *linga* form (Tulpule 1963, p. 337). Yeragi inscription of 1134 CE mentions that the grant given to the Vishnu temple was handed over to the priest of *matha* of Mulasthan at Yeragi. This deity appears only in 11th century CE, as there is no reference to it in any of the earlier records.

B) Vishnu

Compared to the Shiva temples, the number of Vaishnavite temples was much less. There are about 20 inscriptions, which record grants to Vaishnavite temples, 18 to various forms of Vishnu and two grants to Krishna. Additionally, there are five more inscriptions

recording grants to Vishnu along with other deities and classified under composite category here. The Ganeshwadi grant of 1099 CE, Akkalkot grant of 1122 CE, and Ardhapur grant of 1236 CE record donations to Vishnu temples along with temples of other deities, while the Kolhapur grant 1126 refers to a ‘three-spired temple’ wherein icons of Brahma and Vishnu were installed. The temple at Nandagaon in Amaravati district, which carries an inscription dated to 1254-55 CE, is a triple-shrined, Hemadpanthi temple with Narasimha form of Vishnu as one of the deities along with Shiva and goddess. Thus, about 21 Vaishnavite temples are referred to in the inscriptions, while two were triple-shrined. Of these, four temples were dedicated to Keshva, four to Narayana, while one temple at Mandavi in Thane district was of Lakshmi-Narayana. The deity in Umadi inscription of 1176 CE is called, ‘*Jalashayi Anantanarayanadeva*’, whose image was installed amidst those of twelve Narayanas. There was a temple of Twelve Narayanas at Gadag in Karnataka during the rule of later Chalukyas (Sastri K. A. 1960, p. 443). The Paithan grant of 1100 refers to Sodhala Narayana, Vesu Narayana and Mhatu Narayana in the *jagati* of Someshvaraswami, apparently named after three different donors. The temple constructed by Prabhavatigupta’s daughter at Ramtek, as recorded in Ramtek inscription, was for the deity ‘*Lokanatha*’, which according to some scholars was the present icon of Narasimha, the main deity of the Kevala-Narasimha temple, the right hall wall of which carries the present inscription (Shastri A. M. 1997). But according to Bakker and Isaacson, it refers to some other deity (Bakker and Isaacson 1993). There was a temple of Narasimha at Kanhegaon in Osmanabad district as indicated by the inscription from the place dated to 1258 CE. The stone-slab on which the inscription is incised has an engraving of Narasimha. The inscriptional slab from Koravali in Solapur district, dated to 1303 CE has engravings of Krishna and Shiva-*linga*. Though there are no remains in the village at present and the inscription does not mention any deity, traditionally it is believed that there was a Narasimha temple at the village, which collapsed and a new temple was built at the same site. The inscription from Palasdev dated to 1157 CE refers to the temple as ‘*Vishnugriha*’, while the Methi inscription dated to 1254 CE refers to the deity as ‘*Bhadrahari*’. Two temples were dedicated to Krishna, one each at Kalvar in Thane district and Dharmapuri in Bid district.

The Narayana temple at Mangalvedha in Solapur district, Keshava temple at Yeragi in Nanded district and Narayana temple at Bhandak in Chandrapur district were given more than one grant at different period of time.

C) Vitthal

There are four inscriptions referring to Vitthal, all from Pandharpur, the famous centre of Vitthal cult in Maharashtra. These inscriptions spanning over a century tell a fascinating story of the origin and development of the famous Vitthal temple at Pandharpur. The temple was built by the local Mahajanans in 1189-90 CE, possibly over an already existing smaller shrine. In 1226 CE, the Hoyasala king Someshvara endowed the temple with a village, cash donation and a few commodities. From 1273-74 CE to 1276-77 CE, number of people from all strata of society gave cash and various items to contribute towards the renovation of the temple. The donors were from all parts of Maharashtra and also outside it. Lastly in 1311 CE one Keshavadeva installed the icon of Vitthal and he along with other gave cash donations. The installation of icon as mentioned in this inscription, probably meant either reinstalling the old icon or consecrating a new one. It is not clear why was it required to install the icon again. It should be pointed out that there is no epigraphic reference to Vitthal from any other area of Maharashtra.

D) Goddess

Of the 17 grants given to temples of goddess, six are from north Konkan, Thane, Raigarh and Mumbai districts. In the 8th century CE, there was a shrine of goddess Katyayani, which was set up near a temple tank near Dive Agar in Thane district. At Akshi in Raigarh district, there were two famous temples of Mahalakshmi and Kalika. The *mathika* of Dashmi (Durga or Parvati) at Sanjan in Thane district was very prominent as a number of grants were made over to it (Chinchani 926/1034 CE, Chakravarti 2001). The temple of Jogeshvari in Mumbai was also an important shrine. There were a few prominent sites of goddess worship in southeastern and southern parts of Maharashtra. The famous temples of Yogeshvari at Ambejogai, Mahalakshmi at Kolhapur and Bhavani at Tuljapur date back to this period. Apart from a few grants to these temples, there are references to these places in a number of other inscriptions. There was a temple of Chandikadevi at Mangalvedha in Solapur district. There was a temple of Ambadevi at Savargaon in Osmanabad district, while the famous temple of Shridevi (Bhavani) at Tuljapur in Osmanabad district finds mention in another inscription from Savargaon dated to 1398 CE, which is the earliest reference to this goddess. The minister and army chief of later Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI, Bhimanatha built a temple of Chandi at Hippalgaon in Osmanabad district. In north Maharashtra, the

Yadava king Melugideva had built the temple of Kondaivva goddess at Dhabadev in Dhule district in 1128 CE, while there was temple of Dvaraja (Bhavani) at Bahal in Jalgaon district.

As is clear from the above survey, most forms of goddess were Shaivite. While other forms are well known, Katyayani is a form of Mahishasuramardini, who, according to Vamana Purana, emerged from the mountain of effulgence formed by flames of anger of all gods, resplendent as thousand suns, with three eyes and eighteen arms. Armed with weapons given by all gods, she proceeded to Vindhya Mountain and killed Mahishasura (Rao 1914, pp. 347, 350-354). Mahalakshmi, the consort of Vishnu is a Vaishnavite deity, but at Kolhapur, the icon has a *linga* on the crown and is associated with Shiva. Kolhapur is one of the *Shakta-pithas* and '*Chaushasthi yoga-pithas*' as mentioned in an inscription from Abdul Lat in Shirol taluka of Kolhapur district. An earlier inscription of 1049 CE also refers to Kolhapur as a '*Shivakshetra*'. An inscription of 1218-19 CE on the pillar in the Ganapati shrine in the compound of Mahalakshmi temple, calls this deity as bearing a *linga* on her head, as '*Himalayasambhave*' (meaning Parvati) and states that at this site, Shiva resides with her (Ritti and Karvirkar 2000, pp. lix-lxvii). The worship in her shrine was conducted by *pashupatacharyas* (Sastri K. A. 1960, p. 442). Thus, the Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur is more a Shaivite goddess than Vaishnavite. At Akshi in Raigarh district, she may have been a Vaishnavite deity. The goddess, called Kondaivva is unusual. While most of these temples are not extant today, the sites such as Kolhapur, Ambejogai and Tuljapur are still foremost centres of goddess worship, which started gaining prominence from 11th-12th century CE.

E) Sun

There were a few Sun temples, mainly in Vidarbha and north Maharashtra. Of the four temples, three existed in the period before 10th century CE. There was a temple at Amaravati (Bhandak 772 CE), on the bank of Tapi, probably at Mehun, Jalgaon district (Mehun 807/825 CE) and at Lonad in Thane district (Bhere 997 CE). There was only a single temple of Sun constructed as late as 1233-34 CE at Prakashe in Dhule district. The temple at Kasheli in Ratnagiri district, which was given a grant in 1191 CE, was probably a Sun temple.

F) Jainism

Jainism was also an important sect, which started gaining prominence in post-10th century CE period. The inscriptions pertaining to Jainism are found from all parts of

Maharashtra except Konkan. As mentioned in the Vajirkheda copperplates of 915 CE, there were two temples in Nasik district, which received grants of a number of villages from the Rashtrakuta king Indra III. One of the temples at Chandanapuri near Malegaon in Nasik district was called Amogha *basti* and could have been built by the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha. Another temple called Uriamma *basti* at Vadner near Malegaon was probably dedicated to Uriamma *yakshi*, another name of *yakshi* Jvalamalini in Kannada (Kolte 1987, pp. 269-271). The sect was most prominent in south Maharashtra, which has yielded as many as 19 inscriptions, 14 of which are from Kolhapur district. This is not surprising considering the fact that the sect was very powerful in north Karnataka, bordering Kolhapur. Five of these grants were given by the Shilahara kings. There was a Jaina temple at Dharmapuri in Bid district, while another was at Vai in Yeotmal district.

Except the Kalvan inscription of 11th century CE, which records a grant to a Jaina temple ‘in the country of *Shvetapada*’, all the inscriptions refer to the Digambara sect of Jainism. A number of Digambara sub-sects are mentioned. Most of the inscriptions do not mention an *anvaya*, the *gachha* being occasionally mentioned, while in many cases only the *sangha* is referred to. The *Mula Sangha* and the *Yapaniya Sangha*, the ancient and popular *sanghas* of south India were widely prevalent in Maharashtra. At Kolhapur the line of *Mula Sangha*, *Deshiya Gana* and *Pustaka Gachha* was quite influential in the mid-11th century CE. At the same time, *Yapaniya Sangha* was also present here. There is an early evidence of *Dravida Sangha* in the Vajirkheda inscription, though all the known records mentioning this *Sangha* are said to post-date the 10th-11th century CE. Moreover, the *Vinnaryya* or *Chinaryya Anvaya* of this *sangha*, mentioned in this record is not known otherwise (Vijayamurti 1957, pp. 33-42, Deo 1954-55, pp. 545-546).

G) Others

There are occasional references to well of *yakshi*, *yaksha dvara* etc. The Kandhar inscription of 10th century CE has an interesting reference to a temple of Kamadeva close to an area where the courtesans of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III lived. Probably Kamadeva, the god of love, was worshipped by the courtesans and this temple was specifically built for them. The inscription also refers to a temple of Kshetrapala, which could have been a form of Shiva or a folk deity protecting the town. The minister and army chief of later Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI, Bhimanatha also built a temple of Kshetrapala at Hippalgaon in Osmanabad district. There are few references to Ganesh temples also. The abovementioned

minister and army chief Bhimanatha also built a Ganesh temple, called Herambadham, at Hippalgaon in Osmanabad district. An undated inscription of Yadava general Kholeshvara (13th century CE) from Ambejogai refers to a sky-scraping temple dedicated to *lambodara* or Ganesh. The inscription mentions that Kholeshvara, among other pious acts, also enlarged the temple of Vinayaka, probably at Dharur in Bid district. The Unakadeva inscription of 1279 CE records, among other grants, donation of land for Gramadevata, while Parda inscription of around 14th century CE records donation to Gaudeva. These must have been some folk deity of a village.

Interestingly, there is no reference to Skanda or Kartikeya as in Karnataka or Tamil Nadu.

3.7 RELIGIOUS CENTRES

Most of the temples mentioned in the inscriptions appear to have been minor establishments that received occasional grants, while a few of the temples were endowed with more than one grant over a period, sometimes over a century. The Kapilsiddha Mallikarjuna temple at Sonnalige, a suburb of Solapur, received as many as eight grants in the 12th and 13th centuries CE. Though the dates in five inscriptions could not be determined, the earliest grant was probably made in late 12th century CE. This temple possessed property in far-flung villages, mostly within Solapur district and also in adjoining Osmanabad district. This site is described as '*Dakshina Varanasi*' in one of the inscriptions. There was a temple of Svayambhu Somanatha or Someshvara at Karadkehd in Deglur taluka of Nanded district to which at least nine grants were given during late 11th to mid-12th century CE.

A few of the sites developed as important religious centres where a number of temples were built and which emerged as *tirthas*. Kolhapur and Ambejogai were such prominent centres where a number of temples dedicated to different faiths were patronised by important dignitaries, but were more famous for goddess shrines. Ambejogai was a centre of *yogini* cult at least by 12th century CE. A 1144 CE inscription from Ambejogai, which records a grant to Shiva temple, refers to the place as Amba and states that the *vajradanda* of *yogini* would fall on the person who might obstruct or revoke the grant (Shastri A. M. 1972, No. III, pp. 37-48). Evidently, the town came to be known as Ambejogai because of its association with *yogini* or

jogini. In Marathwada region, Yeragi, Ardhapur, Savargaon, Dharmapuri etc were important sites. The sites of goddess cult such as Kolhapur, Tuljapur and Ambejogai were popular places of pilgrimage. Outside Maharashtra, Prabhas Patan and Dabhoi in Gujarat and Shrishailam in Andhra Pradesh, which hold significance even today, were famous *tirthas*. All the three grants from Tirtha in Solapur district were probably given to the same temple of Rameshvara. The grants of 1082 CE and 1106 CE do not mention the location of this temple, but the grant of 1108 CE mentions that temple was situated in '*mahatirtha vekaruak*', which is same as Tirtha since in 1082 CE inscription, the donated village was *Tirthada Ekkaruka*. In 10th century CE, Kandhar in Nanded district must have been an important religious place, other than being a politically and economically significant town. The Kandhar inscription refers to at least eleven temples such as those of Kalapriya, Kshetrapala, Kamadeva, Sagareshvara, Bankeshvara, Viranarayana, Shrikrishneshvara, Challeshvara, Gojjagasomanatha, Tumbeshvara and Tudgeshvara. The Karhad Plates issued by Krishna III also refers to the temples of Kalapriya and Krishneshvara that were erected by the king. The temple of Tudigeshvara was obviously named after him as in the inscriptions of the Rattas of Saundatti, Krishna III is called Tuliga (Sircar and Bhattacharya 1963-64a). Paithan also must have been an important religious place. Two of the temples, Someshvar Swami temple and Vijnaneshvara temple, to which donations were given in around 1100 CE and 1178 CE are also referred to in '*Lilacharitra*'. Both of these inscriptions are found in extant temples and one of these is actually a Mahanubhav *matha* now. The Nagnatha temple at Aundha in Hingoli district was a famous centre as it is referred to in Ranjana inscription of 1217 CE as Amadarka Kshetra.

3.8 TRIPLE-SHRINED TEMPLES

A few of the temples that were built and patronised, were triple-shrined or '*trikuta*'. The triple-shrined temples were originally meant for Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva as indicated by Pallava and eastern Chalukya caves at Mandagapattu, Mahabalipuram, Mogalarajauram and Vijayavada in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. But after 9th century CE, Brahma was replaced with Surya or Goddess icon in the Kakatiya temples in Andhra Pradesh and Hoysala temples in Karnataka (Kalidos 1994-95). In Maharashtra, Brahma was replaced by *shakti* or goddess. The triple-shrined Shiva temples usually have *lingas* in one or two shrines and Vishnu or Goddess in the third shrine. A number of such temples are extant in Maharashtra.

The Hottul inscription of 1101 CE records a donation to a temple of ‘*Tripurushdeva*’ at Yergi, which was probably a triple-shrined temple. The Khandeshvara temple at Nandagaon in Amaravati district, which was endowed with a cash grant by a group of ten people for flowers in 1254-55 CE, is a triple-shrined, Hemadpanthi temple. The three shrines carry Narasimha form of Vishnu, Shiva *linga* and goddess.

It is possible that some of these triple-shrined temples were originally meant for Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The Kolhapur plates of 1126 CE that record endowments by Shilahara Gandaraditya to a ‘triple-spired’ temple mentions that the temple was built by *Mahapradhan* Maillapayya after repairing the dilapidated temple of Khedaditya, in which he installed “*icons of Brahma and Vishnu*”. The Hippalgaon inscription of 1099 CE records that *Mahapradhan* Bhimanath built “*temples of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva*” at Pippalgrama or Hippalgaon in Latur district. These, in fact, could have been a triple-shrined temple and not three different temples, as there exists a triple-shrined temple at Hippalgaon that has a *linga* in the main shrine, Mahishasurmardini in the northern shrine, while the southern shrine is damaged (Shahpurkar 2002). There is no other reference to Brahma in any of the inscriptions.

Interestingly, some of the triple-shrined temples had all three shrines dedicated to Shiva. In early 12th century, Kannapayya Nayaka, *Mahapradhan* of the Kalachuri Bijjala II, who was ruling as feudatory of later Chalukya king Someshvara III, built a ‘*Trikuta Shivalaya*’ at Sonnalige, a suburb of Solapur and installed three *lingas* in three shrines, called Kanneshvara, Chatteshvara and Mallikarjuna. In 1135 CE, this temple was endowed with land by Bijjala on the request of his chief minister (Ritti and Kumbhar 1988, No. 9, pp. 149-150). Roughly around the same time, Mahapradhan Vaijarasa, minister of later Chalukya king Someshvara III, built triple-shrine Shiva temple at Aurad in south Solapur taluka of Solapur district and installed three *lingas* in three shrines (Ritti and Kumbhar 1988, No. 8, pp.148-149). Paitaladevi, wife of an official under Yadava Singhana II constructed a temple at Darphal and installed three *lingas*, one of which was named after her husband (Ritti and Kumbhar 1988, No. 26, pp. 160-161).

The Miraj Plates of 1058 CE calls the Shiva temple as *panchayatana* shrine. There is no other reference to *panchayatana* shrines.

3.9 TEMPORAL-SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS

The find-spots of inscriptions indicate uneven distribution of temple grants over various areas of Maharashtra. The number of inscriptions from north & west Maharashtra, Konkan and Vidarbha is much less compared to the inscriptions from southern and southeastern Maharashtra. While the inscriptions are available from all parts of Maharashtra, except the extreme eastern part of Vidarbha (Bhandara, Garhchiroli and Gondia districts), the number of inscriptions is highest in the southern districts of Kolhapur, Sangli and Solapur that constitutes over 45 per cent of total records. The inscriptions from the southeastern districts of Nanded, Latur, Bid and Osmanabad are about 25 per cent of the total data, while the Thane district in north Konkan also has significant number of inscriptions. The rest of the regions like western, central, northern Maharashtra and other parts of Vidarbha have a very few inscriptions (Figure 4).

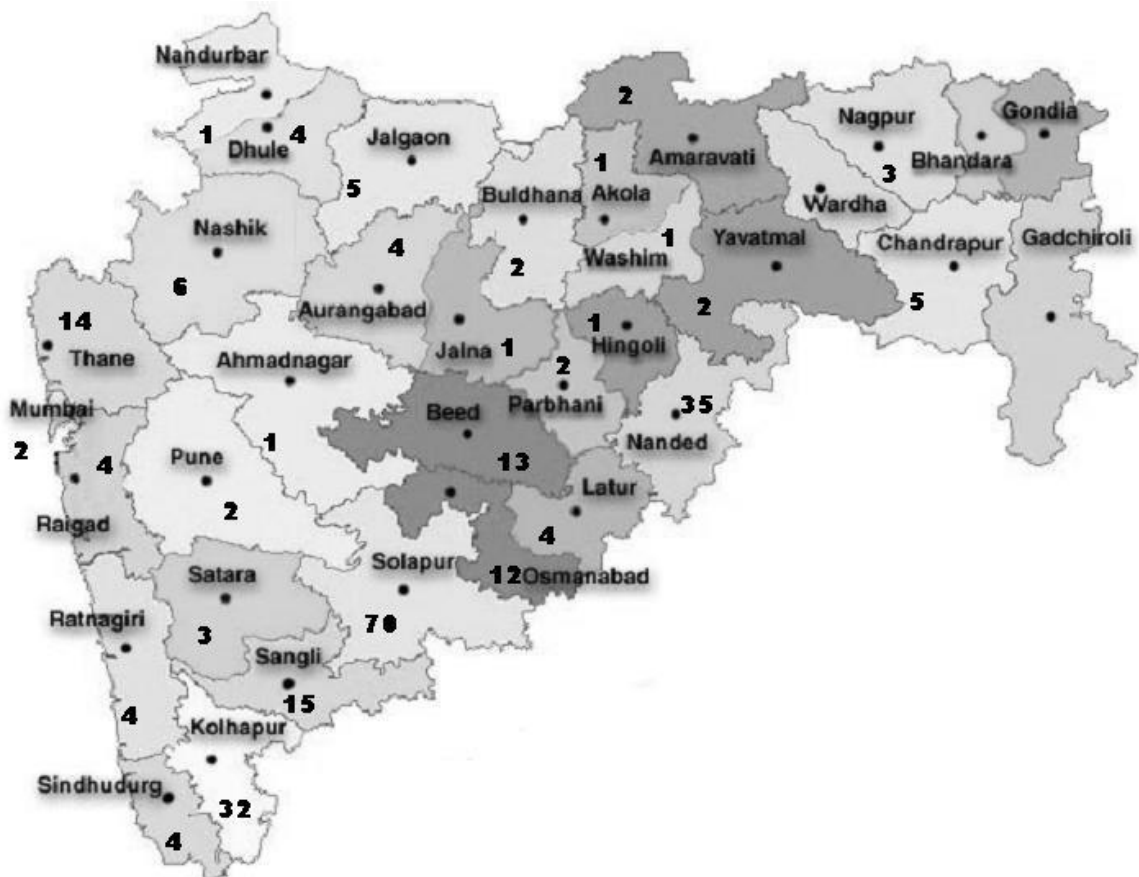


Figure 4: Numbers of Temple Grants from Various Districts of Maharashtra

The imbalance in the distribution of the inscriptions, as mentioned above, could be because of more intensive work carried out in some parts of the state. But in spite of this

disparity in published material, the concentration of inscriptions in certain areas is significant. It is clear that there is no correlation between the number of temples built and the temples that were endowed with grants as represented in the inscriptions. Though there are a number of medieval temples in Ahemadnagar district, only a single inscription has come to light from this district, dated to a rather late period, 13th century CE. Similarly, very few inscriptions are available from Nasik district, which possesses some of the most elaborate and ornate temples of Maharashtra such as those at Sinnar, Jhodge and Anjaneri. Here only one inscription is from the temple at Anjaneri, while the rest are copperplates that refer to temples not extant today. Again, a very few inscriptions are available from Vidarbha region. Only 18 inscriptions have been found from seven districts even though this area possesses some of the most ornate temples like those at Satgaon, Sakegaon, Lonar and Markandi. On the other hand, while a significant number of inscriptions are available from Thane district, only a single temple of the period is extant today at Ambarnath and few remains are found at Lonad, Atgaon and near Tungareshvara hill (Jamkhedkar 2002). In north Maharashtra, out of nine inscriptions, four are from some of the important temples such as those at Patne, Methi, Bahal and Vaghli.

Evidently numerous large or small temples were built in almost all parts of the state during 11th to 14th century. A large number of medieval temples can be still seen scattered in various parts of the state, while extensive remains at a few sites indicate that the numbers of temples built were much higher than those standing today (Cousens 1931, Deglurkar 1974). But not all temples were endowed with elaborate grants or at least were not recorded on imperishable material that has come down to us, instead only a few temples located in southern & southeastern districts of Solapur, Kolhapur, Nanded, Bid and Osmanabad and Thane district in north Konkan were patronised with endowments that were recorded down in inscriptions. Does it mean that these temples were endowed with more grants than their counterparts in other areas or that the nature of grants in these parts required recording? It is possible that these grants consisted of items such as land/village/taxes, which had to be recorded down on imperishable material for proper records or for avoiding any future disputable claims over this property. These grants were probably considered important enough to record down because the patrons were important dignitaries of society. Again, probably the tradition of recording down grants was much stronger here due to its physical proximity of south India, which definitely has more dominant tradition of inscriptions than rest of the country. Compared to this, it can argued that endowments in other areas primarily

consisted of cash-grants made over largely by the commoners, which were not considered important enough to record down on imperishable material.

Interestingly, none of the temples in the areas that were granted donations, are large or ornate monuments with the few exceptions such as Shiva temple at Ambarnatha in Thane district, Dharmapuri in Bid district, Ardhapur & Hottul in Nanded district and Kudal in Solapur district. Most of the other temples are ruined or very simple structures, while some have disappeared altogether. Some of the elaborate temples such as Mahalakshmi temple at Kolhapur have not furnished any grants though it also belongs to the same period. In contrast to this, the areas, which have not furnished many inscriptions, have some of the most ornate temples like the Gondeshvara Mahadeva temple at Sinnar, Shiva temple at Jhodge, both in Nasik district; temple at Anwa in Auragabad district; Jagadambadevi temple at Kokamthan, Lakshmi-Narayana temple at Pedgaon, both in Ahemadnagar district; Aundha Nagnatha temple in Hingoli district and Daitya Sudana temple at Lonar in Buldhana district. It does not seem likely that these temples were sustained only on cash donations and were not endowed with the usual, popular grants of land, villages and dues. So why is there such disparity in distribution of temple grants?

The geographical distribution of inscriptions, when compared with temporal distribution, reveals many interesting features.

Temporal-Spatial Distribution of Temple Grants															
District	Century														
	4	5	7	8	9	10	10-11	11	11-12	12	13	12-13	14	N.A.	Total
Ahemadnagar											1				1
Akola										1					1
Amaravati							1				1				2
Aurangabad										2	2				4
Bid								2		7	4				13
Buldhana											1		1		2
Chandrapur	1			1				1		1			1		5
Dhule			1							1	1		1		4
Hingoli											1				1
Jalgaon					2			1		1	1				5
Jalna											1				1
Kolhapur								2		18	10			2	32
Latur								1		1	1	1			4
Mumbai										2					2
Nagpur		1								1	1				3
Nanded						1		10	2	19	2	1			35
Nandurbar											1				1

Nasik			1	1		2		1		1					6
Osmanabad								1		6	3		2		12
Parbhani											1		1		2
Pune										1		1			2
Raigarh				1							3				4
Ratnagiri										2	2				4
Sangli								1		11	3				15
Satara										2				1	3
Solapur								9		27	22	5	4	3	70
Sindhudurg								1		1	2				4
Thane		1	1			2		3		4	3				14
Washim													1		1
Yeotmal								1		1					2
Total	1	2	3	3	2	5	1	34	2	110	67	8	11	6	255

Table 9: Temporal-Spatial Distribution of Temple Grants

A significant feature of such a survey is complete absence of temple-grants prior to 10th century CE from southern and southeastern Maharashtra, which have furnished largest temple-grants in post-10th century CE period. Compared to vast numbers of temple grants from these areas, their absence in earlier period is significant. All the early temple-grants are from Konkan, Vidarbha and northern & western Maharashtra.

Comparing these trends with the temporal-spatial distribution of grants to Brahmana reveals interesting features (Table 11 and Figure 5).

Temporal-Spatial Distribution of Brahmana Grants														
No	District	Century												Total
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1	Ahemadnagar							1	1	4		1		7
2	Akola				1			2						3
3	Amaravati			2	1		1							4
4	Aurangabad						3		1			2		6
5	Bhandara			2										2
6	Bid						1	1					1	3
7	Buldhana								1					1
8	Chandrapur			1										1
9	Dhule		1	1	1	1								4
10	Jalgaon				1	2	1	1						5
11	Jalna				1									1
12	Kolhapur						1	1	1	1		1		5
13	Mumbai											1		1
14	Nagpur		1	4	1				1					7
15	Nandurbar					1								1
16	Nasik					4	3	1		1				9

17	Osmanabad					2								2
18	Pune					2	3		1					6
19	Raigarh								3	3	1	1		8
20	Ratnagiri						1				2	1		4
21	Satara			1			2		1					4
22	Sindhudurg					2	2							4
23	Thane					1	2	1		4	5	1		14
24	Wardha		1	2										3
25	Washim			1										1
26	Yeotmal			1				1						2
27	Konkan					1	1							2
28	Composite	1			1		1				1			4
29	N.A.			5		5	2	2	2			1		17
Total		1	3	20	7	21	24	11	12	13	9	9	1	131

Table 10: Temporal-Spatial Distribution of Brahmana Grants



Figure 5: Numbers of Brahmana Grants from various Districts of Maharashtra²

Of the 17 grants from indefinite location, six are from Konkan, two from Nandurbar district, three from Kolhapur district and one each from Sangli and Pune districts. But still it is clear that there are hardly any Brahmana grants from Solapur, Nanded, Bid, Sangli, Osmanabad and Kolhapur districts, the areas, which have furnished largest number of temple

² 23 grants are not represented in the map since their exact location is indefinite.

grants, but predominantly after 10th century CE. Thus, it appears that before 10th century CE, hardly any grants, either to Brahmana or temples, were given in southern and southeastern areas of Maharashtra.

The Kolhapur district has maximum number of donations by the kings of various dynasties such as later Chalukyas, Shilaharas and Yadavas. Of the fifteen royal grants, nine were made by the Shilaharas, while the rest were given by later Chalukya and Yadava kings. Though there are 35 grants from Nanded district, only a single grant was given by a king of Rashtrakuta dynasty at Kandhar in 10th century CE, while one was given by a later Chalukyan queen as a part of composite grant. Similarly, of the seventy grants from Solapur, only five were made by the kings- two by Kalachuri kings, one by Hoysala king and two by Kalachuri and Yadava kings as composite grants. Of the fifteen grants from Sangli district, four were by the kings and of the fourteen grants from Thane district, seven were by the kings.

Thus, it appears that the kings and royal family largely patronised temples in their limited areas of influence. The Shilaharas patronised temples in Kolhapur and Sangli districts, northern Shilaharas in Thane and Raigarh districts, later Chalukyas in Kolhapur, Sangli, Solapur and Osmanabad districts. The temples in Nanded and Solapur districts were predominantly patronised by the feudatories and officials. On the other hand, the donations by Yadava kings, though very limited in numbers, were spread over a wider area, Washim, Dhule, Thane, Kolhapur, Sangli and Bid districts and none near their capital, Devagiri in Aurangabad district. But overall, only fourteen grants out of 64 grants during the reign of Yadavas were given away in other parts, while the rest were in southern and southeastern areas.

Thus, it appears that southern and southeastern areas were geographically more significant, probably more intensively populated than other areas. Between the nuclear agricultural regions of Godavari basin in north, the area around Solapur and Andhra Pradesh in east, Karnataka in south and the rice region of the Maval and Konkan in west, there lay broad stretches of land characterised by pastoral life. These areas, up to the times of the Marathas were not entirely transformed into nuclear agricultural regions with intensive use of land (Sontheimer 1989). A large number of sites in these areas such as Mahuli in Sangli district, Mhalung and Bavde in Solapur district, Koregav Mul, Gulunche, Murti Modhve,

Choranchi Alandi and Vadapuri, in Pune district, Kikli in Satara district, etc have Hemadpanthi temples and hero-stones, either near temples or at the entrance of the village, at the edge of the road or at the village square, depicting scenes of cattle raids. Some of the Hemadpanthi temples point to settlements with pastoral traditions. The temple at Palasdev, which was constructed by *Dandanayaka* Changdev in 1157 CE and which was endowed with land as well as cash by Basavan Upadhyaya's son Bhai, is attributed to cowherds as per the local tradition. These sites could have been settlements and camps of *dandanayakas*, *mayakas*, *gavundas* and other such local rulers with pastoral base (Sontheimer 1989).

The Kolhapur, Solapur and Nanded districts were nuclear agricultural regions, with black cotton soils and good water resources. It should be remembered that though most parts of Solapur district are dry and pastoral in character, the area around Solapur-Akkalkot is fertile with deep soils, and most grants are from these areas. These nuclear regions were probably well settled from the beginning and Brahmanised and so not many *agraharas* were created here. On the other hand, attempts were made to integrate 'pastoral' areas into mainstream society and thus numbers of *agraharas* were created in these areas around the fertile patches near riverbanks. Therefore, there are hardly any grants from these parts before 10th century CE, when primarily *agraharas* were created and uncultivated areas were brought under cultivation. When temples rose to prominence, these were naturally patronised with much vigour in these Brahmanised areas, which, by this time, were also politically and economically more prominent. Similarly, north Konkan, though agriculturally not so fertile, had been economically quite active and prominent. Consequently, the Brahmanas here were endowed with cash grants/taxes before 10th century CE and eventually temples were patronised by the northern Shilaharas, resulting in almost equal numbers of Brahmana and temples grants. By 11th-12th century CE, north Konkan was also well settled. Ibn Haukal in his 'Ashkalu-l Bilad' or 'Kitabu-l Masalik Wa-l Mamalik' (written in 1193 CE) mentions that from Kambaya to Saimur, the villages were very close to one another and much land was under cultivation (Elliot 1867: 39). Compared to this, the western and central Maharashtra, especially Pune, Ahemadnagar, Satara, Nasik and Aurangabad districts were dry areas with scanty population, except along major riverbanks, which were exploited to create *agraharas* before 10th century CE. Eventually, number of temples emerged here, but the area was not so prominent politically and economically and thus endowments made over to these temples may not have been written down on imperishable material.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIETY IN MEDIEVAL MAHARASHTRA

A number of studies are available that deal with socio-religious, economic and cultural conditions during various dynastic periods from Vakatakas to Yadavas, most as the part of work on political history, but some devoted exclusively to these aspects (Yazdani 1960, Altekar 1967, Mirashi 1963 & 1977, Panse 1963, Ritti 1973). Here it is not aimed to reproduce available data, but deal with some relevant issues that help in understanding the role temples played and the cultural milieu of the contemporary society. The ‘medieval’ period that is referred to here pertains roughly to 11th to 14th centuries CE, drawing occasionally from earlier period and data to emphasis certain features. The superficial dynastic demarcations are avoided to get an overall picture during this period, while pointing out the changes that occurred during this period.

4.1 POLITY

The nature of polity during medieval period has been a debatable issue with theories ranging from the state being a monarchical/autocratic body to feudal, segementary and integrative state (Sharma R. S. 1965, Stein Burton 1977, Veluthat 1993, Kulke 1995, Heitzman 1997). Numerous studies have been carried out pertaining to specific region or entire country. Not many historical studies have been carried out in this direction in present day Maharashtra, mainly because the data available is scanty and inconclusive. The issue is too complex and vast to deal with here and moreover, is not exactly the aim of the present study, but it is necessary to understand it for grasping the intricacies of temple patronage patterns. Therefore, it is aimed to present the picture that appears from the temple grants. However, it should be remembered that this picture may be inadequate and might need to be substantiated by a variety of evidences as well as different types of studies.

The limited temple grants indicate a flexible and fluid state with indefinite or ever changing boundaries. At the apex of the political structure was of course the king with his court of officials and army. However, what is unclear is the actual extent and nature of his domain and his authority. He worked with a set of officials such as *mahapradhan*, *amatya*,

sandhivigrahaka, dandanayaka, senapati, treasury officials and accountants each with his own group of officials under him. Most probably the centre of his power and authority was concentrated in an area around his capital seat, while loosely holding authority over the fringe areas.

At the next level were feudatories, called *mahamandaleshvara, mandalika, samanta, mahasamanta*, who were assigned estates and areas in different parts of the kingdom. They almost functioned like independent kings at mini-scale, imitating the court of king on a smaller scale and in few cases also having feudatories under them. They also had their own set of similar officials and armed forces. They were probably expected to perform duties at the imperial court and many of these feudatories are also found holding posts of *mahapradhana, senapati* etc.

The officials under the king were probably given land/villages in return of their services. They appear to have almost complete control over these estates. Many of the officials held more than one post as *mahapradhan* and *senapati* were one and the same person in many cases. There are also examples of posts of *dandanayaka* and tax collector being held by single official. There are a few examples of one person holding as many as three posts. The Andur inscription of 1107 CE records a grant by later Chalukyan prince Mallikarjuna at the request of Nachimarasa, who was *Mahapradhan, Maneverggade* and *Dandanayaka*.

The village heads or prominent persons such as *gavundas, mahajanas* and *prabhus* were more a part of traditional set-up and continued to manage the village as a hereditary tradition rather than as ‘officials’ appointed by king.

The administrative set-up does not appear to have been changed or tempered with by succeeding dynasties. The administrative divisions continued to be unchanged over centuries, unless when they underwent natural changes such as increase or decrease of villages within a division, leading to change in the numerical appellation of that division or emergence/dissolution of certain urban centers. Thus, these ‘administrative divisions’ are rather geographic divisions. Consequently, hardly any changes appear to have been made in the functioning of a village, the lowest unit.

Almost all roles appear to be hereditary, be it a king, feudatory, official or village head. The Barshi Takli inscription of 1177 CE specifically mentions that the donor's family had been hereditary ministers to an unspecified dynasty.

Thus, it appears that at the highest level and probably at the center of the kingdom, was the king and his court, managing the affairs of the kingdom, but not in a very centralized manner. The major portions of the kingdoms were under the feudatories, who had complete judicial, fiscal and administrative control over their domains and who also maintained courts like the kings. However, they were expected to perform certain duties and often held administrative positions at the centre. The officials in service of the kings were rewarded with land or villages, probably from the royal share of the kingdom and with all rights. The administrative, judicial and fiscal rights were with the authority under which the village fell, king, official or feudatory, and though there might have been a general system of administration followed as per the tradition, there does not appear to have been a autocratic, centralized system. There are variations in coin types and land measuring units within the known limits of a ruling dynasty. The coin minting was most probably not the exclusive right of the state and probably some merchant guilds also had right to mint coins. The so-called 'administrative divisions' of a region were in fact geographical divisions that persisted over centuries in spite of changes in ruling dynasties. The guilds were very powerful organisations and there were guilds of all kinds, of merchants as well as of professionals. These guilds could levy taxes on sale and purchase of items and could also levy toll duties on the movement of merchandise. Thus, taxation system was also not sole and exclusive right of the state. The general trend was to hand over the entire charge of the village to the person who was given the village as a gift or as service charge. Thus, he was not only entitled to enjoy the financial benefits, but was also bound to manage the administration of the village. Consequently, the temples were donated villages along with all the rights.

Such a system created many 'centres of power' in a kingdom, which would explain why feudatories-officials were most dominant class of patrons in temple patronage activity in Maharashtra and why were certain dynasties more active in temple patronage as evident from the chart below.

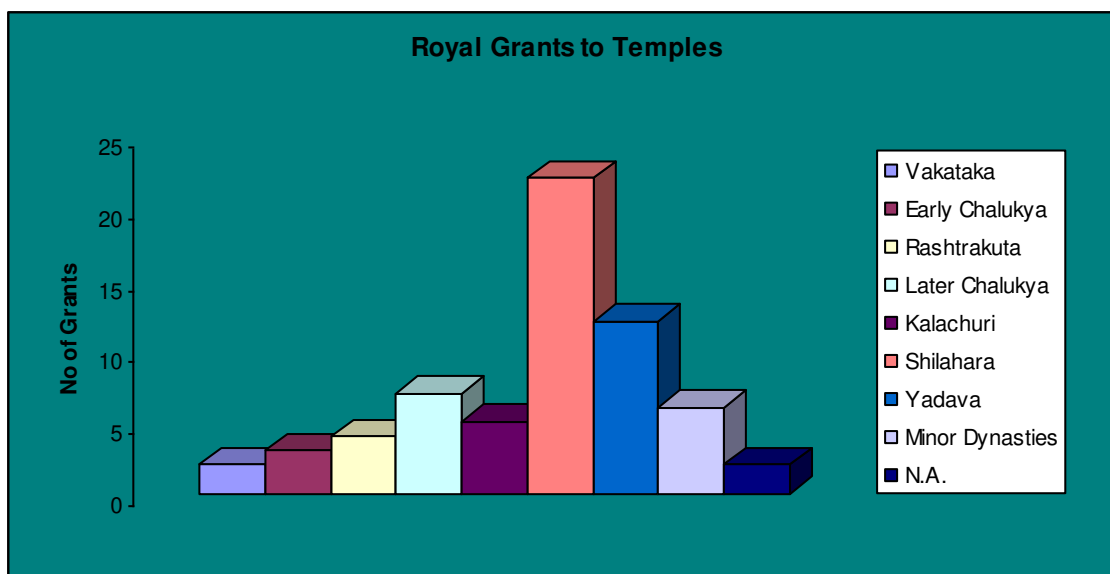


Chart 6: Royal grants to Temples

With 'centre of power' outside Maharashtra during the reign of later Chalukyas and Kalachuris, the region was mainly in charge of feudatories and officials and which is why representation of royal house in temple patronage during this period is limited. On the other hand, Shilaharas and other minor dynasties such as Nikumbhas, with their centre of power within Maharashtra, actively participated in temple patronage activities within Maharashtra.

4.2 ECONOMIC SCENARIO

The economic conditions during 11th to 14th centuries were definitely prosperous as innumerable references to various professions, trade activities and urban centres in the epigraphic as well as literary sources indicate. There is only a single reference to merchants before 10th century as recorded in the Anjaneri inscription of King Bhogashakti of Harishchandra dynasty, dated to 710-711 CE, which records that the administration of the temple was entrusted to a group of merchants. But after 10th century CE, the references to the merchants and trading activities increase. A large number of trade guilds are mentioned. The famous guilds of south India such as Vira Banjuns, 500 Svamis of Ayyavole and Mummridandas were operating in southern areas of Maharashtra. The Lad community of merchants and also merchants from Andhra (Telunga-nagaras) were active in southeastern parts of Maharashtra. There is a reference to a market of Gurjars in the Kandhar inscription of 10th century CE. The internal movement of traders and inland trade was quite active, while a

reference to tax on ships coming from foreign lands as recorded in the Kharepatan grant of 1008 CE point at active foreign trade.

Literary Sources

There are a number of accounts of Arab geographers and travelers, who visited the western coast of India and also other parts, either for trading purpose, accompanying a military troop or wandering as a traveler. These accounts, written between 9th century CE to 14th century CE, though often repetitive, misleading and inaccurate, provide useful information on ports, sea as well as land trade routes, trading items and also socio-religious customs. Of course, a lot of information was gathered from merchants and travelers rather than first hand knowledge of the writers. Consequently, these compilations are primarily confined to coastal areas, scarcely providing any insight into the interior regions. Again, a lot of information, as handed down from generations of merchants is repetitive and inaccurate, especially the exact location or distance of a particular place. Nonetheless, these account give a general idea of the conditions prevailing during 9th to 14th centuries CE.

A number of writers such as Ibn Khurdadbeh (844-848 CE), Sulayman (before 851 CE), Yaqubi (870 or 880 CE), Ibn Rusta (903 CE), Masudi (943 & 955 CE), Al Idrisi (1154 CE) and Dimishqi (1325 CE) mention Kamkam or Konkan (Nainar 1942). All the Arab geographers and travelers know the coastal strip of Konkan as a land of teak, where the ports of Sanjan, Sopara, Chaul and Thane were very popular. Ibn Rusta in his '*Kitab al-Alaq al-Nafisa*' mentions that teak from Konkan was exported to other countries. The port of Sandan or Sanjan is mentioned by a number of geographers. Maqdisi (985 CE) in his '*Kitab Ahsan al-Taqasim fi marifat al-aqalim*' mentions that a large quantities of rice, fabrics and cocoanuts were exported from Sandan or Sanjan, which was also well known for making carpets. Al Idrisi mentions that the city of Sandan was large and populated by rich merchants and great travelers. It produced pepper and date trees, cocoanut palms and bamboo were cultivated in large quantity. The town had an extensive commerce in exports as well as imports (Nainnar 1942, Elliot 1867). Subara or Sopara was also a prosperous port, frequented by merchants and travelers from the Arab world and was considered one of the entrepots of India. Idrisi refers to Sopara as a large and populous town, where the trade of pearl fisheries was going on. Saimur, generally identified with Chaul, is also referred to as a large well-built town, where cocoanut and henna used to grow in abundance. The mountains here produced many aromatic plants, which were exported (Elliot 1867: 85). Tana or Thane is mentioned by

these travelers as a big port where the vessels used to anchor and used to set sail from. A number of agricultural products are listed which were exported to far off countries. While some writers mentioned Thane as the last of the cities of 'Lar' (Gujarat) (Nainar 1942), Alberuni (973-1048 CE), who traveled extensively in India, in the first half of 11th century CE, refers to Tana or Thane as a capital of Konkan (Sachau 1910: 203). Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveler, who was at Thane at the end of the 13th century CE, refers to Tanna as a great kingdom, both in size and worth. He mentions that no pepper, ginger or spices grew here, but brown coloured incense grew in plenty. There was much traffic of ships and merchants as there was intensive export of leather of various kinds and cotton, while the merchants used to import various articles such as horses, gold, silver, copper and other such things (Rhys 1908, p. 385; Hebalkar 2001, p. 116). He also referred to export of pepper, cinnamon, ginger, indigo and brown incense near Mumbai (Larner 1999, p. 71). Interestingly, Dimishqui (1325 CE), who gives new and detailed information about western coast, does not mention Sanjan, nor does he associate Konkan with teak, facts that were so popular with earlier writers (Nainar 1942). It seems that by early 14th century CE, the port of Sanjan had almost died out, a fact also revealed by archaeological excavations conducted at the site (Kurush Dalal, Personal Communication).

Konkan appears to have been known for forest and agricultural products such as teak, henna, aromatic plants, rice, honey, cocoanut and also fabrics. The production of salt also must have been an important activity. The Bhere inscription of 997 CE from Thane district refers to the deity Lonaditya as near '*lavanatata*' or banks of salt pen.

Among few of the interior places of Maharashtra mentioned by these writers are Daulatabad and Nandurbar. Ibn Battutua was sent by Muhammad bin Tughluq as an ambassador to China. To reach China he started from Tilbat near Delhi on 22nd July 1342 CE and reached Cambay on Gujarat coast via Daulatabad and Nandurbar. He describes Daulatabad as an enormous and rich city, rivaling Delhi in importance and spaciousness of planning and inhabited by the Marathas. The 'infidels' in the city were rich merchants, dealing mainly in jewels. There was a fine and spacious bazaar for singers and singing-girls, containing numerous shops. According to him, Nandurbar was a small town inhabited by the Marathas, who possessed great skill in the arts and were physicians and astrologers (Gibb 1929: 227-228). Ibn Batuta has praised the craftsmanship of decorative leather belts, work on cloth and jewellery designs of the artisans from Daulatabad and Nandurbar (Panse 1963).

Compared to these foreign accounts, the indigenous texts provide a better picture of social, religious and economic activities and life in the interior parts of Maharashtra. Unfortunately such texts are very few. The foremost among these are the texts of Mahanubhava sect. It is only in the later half of the last century that the Mahanubhavas have revealed their texts to the outside world and only few of these texts have been edited and translated. These texts, dealing with the lives of Govind Prabhu and Chakaradhar Swami, the incarnations of God according to Mahanubhava belief and their teachings, provide insight into the life during 13th century Maharashtra. One of these texts is '*Riddhipuralila*' or '*Riddhipuracharitra*' narrating the life story of Govind Prabhu or Gundam Raul, who spent most of his life at Riddhipur in Chandurbazar taluka of Amaravati district (Feldhaus 1984). In this text, there are innumerable references to various trades, markets and different types of currency. Mhaimbhat, the chief disciple of Gundam Raul, used to trade in gold and had a shop in gold bazaar. He used to change money and check the purity of gold. Riddhipur was a market town, where a weekly market used to be held. There are references to the horse traders, gardener women and women selling oil, who used to frequent the town with their wares. The horse traders used to halt at an orchard with their branded horses, while gardener women from neighbouring village used to set up their stalls near a rest-house with the vegetables, flowers and southernwood. The milkmaids from Riddhipur used to go to nearby villages to sell curds, ghee and butter (Feldhaus 1984: 49-50, 54, 103). A merchant named Kamalsetti from Riddhipur left the town for trade and came back with much wealth of 'rubies, corals, inlaid gems and so on' (Feldhaus 1984: 158). Apparently there was regular movement of the traders and inland trade appears to be quite extensive. Devagiri (Daulatabad), known as cantonment or '*katak*' was also a commercial city where many prosperous traders dealing in luxury items used to live. Once when Gundam Raul had a desire for camphor and local camphor had run out, his two disciples went to Devagiri and bought very expensive kind of camphor for him (Feldhaus 1984: 293). Various professionals such as butchers, tailors, grocers etc used to live at Riddhipur.

According to '*Lila Charitra*', Paithan, Nagar, Thane and Chaul were famous weaving centres. Thane used to have 5000 weavers engaged in weaving silk cloth. Leather industry was also quite famous and large quantities of leather used to be exported from Thane port (Panse 1963), a fact also revealed by Marco Polo as observed above.

Epigraphic sources

The epigraphic sources provide better information about the economic conditions. There are innumerable references to traders, trading activities, markets, merchandise, market towns and big cities. Many grants, especially those, which mention grants by merchant guilds, refer to towns and cities with various professionals, guilds and evidence to much trade activities. In Konkan, Thane was a significant city and port, often referred to as Sthanakiya pattana (Thane grant of 1185 CE). Dharmapuri and Ambejogai in their respective inscriptions are described as large, beautiful cities. An undated inscription of Yadava general Kholeshvara (13th century CE) from Ambejogai gives a long, eulogistic account of Amrapura or Ambejogai. The town was extensive with many buildings and gardens and was surrounded by a lofty rampart wall as well as a moat. The crossroads of the town were frequented by the travelers fatigued by journey. The courtyards of the houses were slightly sprinkled with saffron water, while the houses were beautified with decorative designs in various colours formed of rows of pearls and rubies. The town had large number of temples that were adorned with glittering gems, tinkling bells, *toranas*, flags, and were crowded by a multitude of devotees. The town, comprising of many *janapadas*, was an ornament of the earth (Shastri A. M. 1972, No. III, pp. 37-48). Allowing enough scope to exaggeration and poetic imagination, it is apparent that Ambejogai was a significant town with large population, bursting with economic and religious activities and was frequented by travelers. Kolhapur, the capital of southern branch of Shilaharas, was another large and important town with a number of temples, markets and trading guilds. The Kolhapur grant of 1135 CE indicates that at Kolhapur, there was intensive trade in fruits, flowers, spices etc and presence of various guilds as well as professionals such as potters, cloth merchants and goldsmiths. Umadi in Sangli district has been described as *pattana* in the Umadi inscription of 1176 CE, where numerous guilds were operative, including guilds of weavers and basket makers.

Among the trading items, horse was an important and valued commodity. The horses imported from west Asia were specially valued and were in much demand. There was specific tax levied on these horses. Other items were betel leaves, grains, vegetables, fruits (dry and fresh), oil, areca nuts, *ghee*, cotton, spices (ginger-green & dry, turmeric, garlic, pepper, mustard, cumin etc), flowers, clothes, salt, cattle etc.

There were a large number of professionals such as potters, goldsmith, blacksmiths, tailors, weavers etc, catering to varied needs of the urban society. The traders as well as

professionals were organized in guilds. Other than various merchant guilds such as Vira Bananjus Mummuridandas, Ubhayanadesis, Gavare, Gatrige, Settigutta, Bira Vaniga, Telunga-nagaras and guild of Lad community, there were guilds such as Muligaru and Aruvattokkalu, which were agricultural guilds and guilds of various professionals such as soldiers, weavers, basket makers etc.

Coins/Currency

As mentioned in the last chapter, a variety of coins are mentioned in the inscriptions. Of these, *rupaka* or *Krishnaraja rupaka*, a silver coin issued by the early Kalachuri king Krishna, is mentioned only in single inscription from Anjaneri, dated to 710-11 CE. This coin, weighing about 30 grains, was in circulation in a wide region extending from Rajasthan to south Maharashtra during the middle of 6th century CE to first quarter of 8th century CE (Mangalam 1991, p. 195). There is no reference to it after this time. By 10th century CE, *dramma* and *gadyan* were most common types of coins, the former being a silver coin and the latter a gold coin. These two types of coins continued well into 14th century CE. Few of the varieties of these coins such as *poruthi* or *paruttha drammās*, *gajamalla gadyan*, *rayajagadla gadyan* and *kasturi gadyan* are mentioned, indicating that different types of these coins were in circulation in different areas. Another common type of coin, referred to in the inscriptions as well as in Mahanubhava literature was *asu* (a gold coin), which was most probably same as *kasu*, mentioned in Chola records. There were variations of this type, probably of different denominations. One of these was a quadruple silver coin or '*asu chauthariya*'. The other silver coins were *nishka* and *tanka*. *Visova* was a copper coin, possibly 1/20th of a *dramma*. *Dharana*, *haga*, *salike* or *salika*, *mudavan*, *adu*, *pana*, *pai*, etc were few of other coins referred to in the grants. There are also references to the use of cowries as medium of exchange.

Due to variations in coin types, it is not clear if state was the sole agency that was minting coins. There is a reference to the guild of mint in Dharmauri inscription of 1134 CE. The profession of money changing or re-coining was very common during this period. Numerous later Chalukyan inscriptions refer to such activities. In 1098 CE, the *Mahadandanayakas* and other officials of Kottidone in Karnataka, got *lokki gadyans* converted into 'peacock coins' (Mangalam 1991, p. 197). The Mahanubhava literature also refers to this profession and as mentioned above, Mhaimbhat, the chief disciple of Gundam Raul, was a moneychanger at Riddhipur. The Mardi inscription of 1180 refers to a merchant,

who was a coin minter. It is possible that the coins were also minted by merchants, other than the state.

In spite of frequent mention of a variety of coins, most of tolls, taxes and octroi duties etc were levied in kind as revealed by numerous epigraphic references. This has been attributed to the paucity of coined money in circulation during early medieval period (Mangalam 1991, p. 195). But in spite of this, the picture that emerges from the inscriptions is that of active trade, regular movement of traders and prosperous towns.

The Kandhar inscription mentions monthly donation of 500 *drammas* for the ablutions of main deities in five temples with curds, milk and flowers, which works out as about 3.3 *drammas* as a daily expense for these items at each temple. Unfortunately, there are very few such references to work out a general rate of *dramma*.

4.3 SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

Social Scenario

The socio-religious trends appear to be changing gradually from 9th century onwards when the references to kings performing elaborate sacrifices reduce considerably, while emphasis on *smarta* concepts of *vrata*, *tirthayatra* and *bhakti* increase. With the increased popularity of personal god, temple emerged as an institution around which the religious activities came to be concentrated. There is a definite shift of patronage from the Brahmanas to temples. Before 9th-10th century CE, most donations were made over to individual Brahmanas by creating *agraharas* for performing five duties, known as *pancha-maha-yajna*. These were *bali*- offerings to living creatures, *charu*-offerings to gods, *vaishvadeva*-worship of deities, *agnihotra*-maintenance of sacred fire and *atithi-pujana*- reception of guests. But with the emergence of Puranic Brahmanism and consequently of temples, the *dana* or donations were diverted to temples. However, the Brahmanas continued to hold important position, now as caretakers of the temples. They were in charge of the temples, its management and the rituals, festivals as well as other associated activities. The eight duties of a Brahmana as mentioned in Tervan plates of 1261 CE were i) sacrifices ii) consecration of gods, wells, gardens etc iii) ceremonies, concluding and long religious observances iv) predicting eclipses, interpreting them, telling auspicious seasons for undertaking any work v)

consulting the religious codes of laws and institutes vi) preaching the *puranas* vii) administering justice viii) supervising the religion of country.

This period witnessed the rise of other castes such as *vaishyas* and numerous other professionals, at the various hierarchical levels of *shudra* caste. The emerging prominence of these castes in socio-religious fabric of the society as evident from their apparent presence in temple patronage activities was the result of prosperous, urban conditions of the period.

A large number of these professionals such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, barbers, gardeners, washermen, fishermen, farmers, guards, actors, *devadasis* etc were also employed in temple. The Chikurde plates of 1154 CE also refer to land donations given to untouchables, who were apparently expected to carry out menial work at the temple.

The curses or imprecatory verses at the end of temple grants point at the social fabric and undercurrents. While most of these verses are in Sanskrit, borrowed from some texts and warning the defaulters of the usual type of sins or calamities such as being born as worm etc, there are some crude kinds of curses also. An interesting reference comes from the Palasdev inscription of 1157 CE, which records the construction of a Vishnu temple by *Dandanayaka* Changdeva and states that whoever defaces or insults the temple, “his sons are his brothers”. This sort of curse, involving incest with mother, is not found in any other grant. However, there are a few grants, especially from the coastal areas of Konkan, which refers to the curse of defaulter’s mother being copulated by an ass. This curse is also depicted graphically at the top or bottom of the inscriptional stone. Interestingly, the curse is always written in Marathi, even if most portion of the grant is written in Sanskrit. Most of such inscriptions are in Konkan and dry areas of Pune district. It apparently points at the prominence of mixed, colloquial and possibly tribal/pastoral population in the area, which had to be warned off by a crude curse, recorded in local language and also depicted graphically.

Religious Scenario

As mentioned in the last chapter, Shaivism was the most popular sect. While one of the earliest Kapalika temple existed in Nasik district as early as 7th century CE, Kalamukha and Lakulisha sects were very prominent in southeastern areas during 11th-12th centuries CE. The Hippalgaon (Ganeshwadi) inscription of 1099 CE mentions that Vadirudra Pandit, teacher of Tatpurush Pandit, to whom the grant was entrusted, was expert in *yama*, *niyam*,

swadhyay, dhyan, japa, samadhi. He had won debates against the Digambaras and Buddhists. This line of teachers was of Kalamukha and Lakulisha sect. They were monks of Shivalingi Santan, of which no other reference is available.

Shaktism or goddess sect was very popular in north Konkan, which still has some of the prominent sites associated with goddesses such as Jogeshvari, Mumbadevi and Kolaba in Mumbai. The other *Shakta-pithas* were Kolhapur, Ambejogai and Tuljapur, which are still prominent *tirthas*. Most of these goddesses were Shaivite, including Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur.

Compared to Shavism, Vaishnavism was not so popular. There were only handful of Vishnu temples that were patronised. Narayana, Lakshmi-Narayana, Keshva and Narasimha were some of the popular forms of Vishnu, while there is a reference to twelve Narayanas and *Jalashayi Anantnarayana*.

There is only a single reference to Buddhism, but Jainism emerged into prominence after 10th century CE, apparently as a result of rise in the socio-economic position of merchant community, which was the major patron of the sect. Sun-worship was more popular before 10th century CE, while Ganesh came to prominence during 11th-12th century CE.

But this is the picture that emerges from the inscriptions that record patronising mainstream Brahmanical temples. The vast majority of masses must be worshipping a variety of local and folk deities and following different practices that are not reflected in these records. The Mahanubhava literature throws some light on the religious life of masses. '*Riddhipuralila*' or '*Riddhipuracharitra*' mentions a number of village goddesses such as Vaja, Vadajamba, Mangjai and Vaghika, while Brahmanical goddesses at Kolhapur and Matapur were also worshipped. There was a temple of 'Mahakala Mahalakshmi' at Riddhipur along with at least sixteen other temples. Another text, '*Sthanapothi*' dealing with the life of Chakradhara Swami, mentions around 153 gods across Maharashtra in 13th century CE, which mainly comprised of Vaishnavite and Shaivite gods, but also included folk goddesses like Kolai, Chichai, Surai, Dobai, Jakhin etc. The Bhalvani inscription of 1156 CE refers to a goddess called Silabe devi while describing the boundaries of donated land. There are innumerable references to Mairala, Mhalasa, Khandanatha, all meaning Khandoba or

Mailara, in the Mahanubhava literature. During 12th-13th centuries CE, some of the popular places of Khandoba were Pali, Sadegaon, Sonai, Paithan, Nandura, Nevasa and Valasenga (Panse 1963). While the epigraphic sources indicate that the Vitthal worship was confined only to Pandharpur, the literary sources refer to the temples of Vithoba at Natepute, Velapur, Pulunj and Kandalgaon (Panse 1963). There were Natha yogis, Siddhas, mendicants, Jainas, people following agamic and vedic religions. There are innumerable references to pilgrimage. Ramtek, Mahur, Mehkar and Ambejogai in Maharashtra were popular *tirthas* while Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh was the important *tirtha* for people following Brahmanical faith (Kolté 1952: 242-243).

Tantrism and tantric practices were also prevalent. The merchant of Devagiri, from whom Gundam Raul's disciples bought camphor, followed '*vama-marga*' or *tantric* practices, which definitely involved use of liquor as it was offered to the disciples (Feldhaus 1984: 151-152).

a) Religious/Merit-gaining activities

While temple-patronage was one of the most prominent religious and merit-gaining acts, there are references to many other activities, which were considered to be meritorious and followed. These acts were:

- Feeding Brahmanas on holy places: Talale copper plates of 1110 CE mentions that Shilahara Gandaraditya fed one lakh Brahmanas at Prayaga, which was not the more famous Prayaga in Uttar Pradesh, but was situated four miles northwest of Kolhapur at the confluence of rivers Bhogavati and Kasari, the tributaries of Panchaganga.
- Getting Brahmanas married: The abovementioned inscription also refers to Gandaraditya marrying off 16 Brahmanas and providing each with a *vritti* and house
- Making arrangements for water and fodder for cattle
- Making arrangement for water, fire and shelter for needy at important places in towns
- Digging tanks for irrigation/consumption
- Providing for free ferry services: The Chinchani grant of 926 CE mentions that the governor Madhumati provided for free ferry service across rivers
- Patronising feeding houses: The abovementioned Chinchani grant of 926 CE mentions that the governor Madhumati provided for rice, curries and *ghee* at the feeding house even though he was an Arab
- Providing for clothes and food items for Brahmanas

b) *Vratas*

In the times when Puranic Brahmanism was popular, the socio-religious life was characterised by performance of a number of *vratas* and their celebration.

- ***Panchalangala vrata***: The Talale plates of 1110 CE refers to donations of two *vrittis* by Shilahara Gandaraditya as *dakshina* of the *parana* of *Panchalangala vrata*, which involved gift of land along with five ploughs made of hard wood, five golden ploughs and ten bulls on holy *tithi* or eclipse. This gift was made on lunar eclipse in *Vaishakha* month (Kane 1971, p. 337).
- ***Lakshahoma***: The Mangalvedha inscription of around 1132 CE records donations given by the Kalachuri king Pemardideva on the occasion of *lakshahoma* performed in the temple of Narayanadeva. The Kanhegaon inscription of 1258 CE records that Gopaldeva of Rathod dynasty, ruler of Latur and servant of Yadava king Krishna, made donations after performing *lakshahoma* for his own merit. *Lakshahoma* is a *shantivrata*, performed in the honour of Narasimha or Sheshashayi Vishnu involving worship, elaborate *homa*, dance, music, songs and other *upacharas*. The *vrata* in favour of Narasimha removes all distress, diseases and sins, while the *vrata* in favour of Sheshashayi Vishnu removes the danger of snake bite (Kane 1971, pp. 423-24).
- ***Agnishtika***: The Talale inscription of 1110 CE mentions that Shilahara Gandaraditya gave a *vritti* for *agnishtika*, along with other things. The *agnishikta* is performed in the cold season of *Hemanta* and *Shishira*, which involves kindling of fire with the recitation of *mantras* and feeding of Brahmanas every morning and evening. It commences on an auspicious day in the month of *Margashirsha*. It is believed to yield great religious merit. There are many references to this rite in contemporary literature and epigraphic sources. The Purushottampuri plates of Yadava Ramachandra, dated to *Shaka* 1232 and Mahanubhava text, '*Lilacharitra*' also refer to it (Mirashi 1977, No. 45, pp. 207-214).

c) **Festivals**

The Mahanubhava texts refer to innumerable types of festivals, vows and folk/village deities. There is a reference to *Navachandi* or *Navaratra* festival when the village headman installed a pot in which nine types of grains were sowed. Unmarried girls used to be invited for feast during this festival (Feldhaus 1984: 82, 85). There is also a reference to

Southernwood festival (*davaneya cha parva*), involving worship using southernwood plant (*davana* or *Artemesia indica*), which was performed on or near full-moon day of *chaitra* month (Feldhaus 1984: 87). On the eve of the no-moon day of the *jyeshtha* month, Bhavai festival used to be celebrated. It involved making a platform of dough balls with a canopy of crepes, which was sprinkled with turmeric and yellow grass, while water pots were broken (Feldhaus 1984: 125).

4.4 SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The donations of villages and land to Brahmanas as well as temples and the references to numerous settlements as boundary villages indicate that the areas along rivers were preferred and settled. The settlement patterns indicate which areas were settled at which point of time in the vast region of Maharashtra. The study is based on the epigraphic data since not many archaeological studies have been carried out in this direction.

Vakatakas: Most of the Vakataka inscriptions record grants to Brahmanas, while only two grants were given to the temples. The Vakatakas, ruling in the eastern Vidarbha region, created *agraharas* in the region of Kanhan-Vainganga Rivers and in ‘*Uttara patta*’ or northern part of their kingdom, in Savner & Katol talukas of Nagpur district. Though it is difficult to locate a number of villages that were donated or are mentioned as boundary villages either because these have vanished or because they have not been identified properly, there is apparent emphasis on regions around rivers. Most of the *agraharas* were situated close to rivers such as Kanhan, Vainganga, Chandrabhaga, Rajtintinika etc.

Early Chalukyas: Keeping with the trends of the times, the early Chalukyas also gave most of the donations to the Brahmanas. They created a number of *agraharas* in south Konkan, semi-arid region of Saswad taluka of Pune district, parts of Satara district and dry regions of Osmanabad-Latur districts. These *agraharas* were located either on riverbanks or on coast. Not many of these grants refer to boundary villages, while specifying location of the donated village, which appears to indicate these areas were relatively less inhabited and *agraharas* were created to bring this area under cultivation. In south Konkan, it was probably the earliest efforts at Brahmanisation. The early Chalukyas made endowments to temples in northern Konkan and Nasik district. However, no endowments, either to temple or Brahmanas, were

made in the northern parts of Pune district, Ahemadnagar, Aurangabad, Jalna, Bid districts, in the southern districts of Solapur and Kolhapur or any area in Vidarbha.

Rashtrakutas: Of the thirty-three Brahmana grants of Imperial Rashtrakutas, as many as twenty-two grants record the creation of *agraharas* on riverbanks. Most of these villages can still be traced on the map. The areas around the rivers Mula, Nira and Krishna in Pune, Satara and Kolhapur districts, Sina River in Ahemadnagar district, Godavari River in Aurangabad district, Mari, Painganaga, Purna and Kanhan rivers in Amaravati, Yeotmal, Akola and Nagpur districts, Ghataprabha River in Kolhapur district and Manjra River in Bid district were given away. These rivers are mentioned as one of the boundaries while demarcating the limits of the *agrahara* and most of these villages can be still traced on the map.

On the other hand, the temples were constructed and endowed with villages in northern Maharashtra, including northern parts of Nasik district, northern Konkan, parts of Vidarbha and at their former capital Kandhar in Nanded district. A number of villages were donated to the temples, many of which were located on the riverbanks and had three to four villages as boundaries, indicating that these areas were well populated. The Bhandak inscription of 772 CE mentions that the boundaries of donated village were four villages, now located in Wardha taluka, Wardha district, one of which, Umvaragrama, had river as boundary. The Vajirkheda inscription of 915 CE records a grant of two villages to Amogha basti at Chandanapuripattana in Nasik district. Of these, one village near Malegaon was located on the banks of river Giriparna or Girna, which formed its southern and western boundaries. Two more villages were located close to it. While the northern boundary village Malegaon is about two miles away, the eastern boundary village is ten miles away, indicating that there must not be any other settlement in between. The other donated village in Aurangabad district had three villages and Maniyada River as boundaries. The boundary villages were at the distance of 4 to 5 miles. The other inscription from Vajirkheda records grant to Uriamma basti at Vadner, which is located on the bank of Mosam River. All the six villages that were donated to this temple have been identified near Vadner in Satana taluka of Nasik district. They have been described as being located in five different *vishayas*, three of which had numerical appellations. One donated village had a mountain, a village and Mosini (Mosam) river as boundaries, while another donated village had three villages and Mosini River as boundaries. Since this river was northern and southern boundaries of these two villages, it appears that both the banks of the river were utilized. Another donated village had two

villages, a hill and river Tungabhadra (not identified) as boundaries, while another village also had three villages and river Amiyara or Arama as boundaries. Another donated village had three villages and dry bed of river as boundaries. Thus, total 15 villages and three rivers are mentioned as the boundaries of six villages. Adding these six donated villages, we have evidence of the presence of at least 21 villages around Vadner on both the banks of Mosam River in Satana taluka of Nasik district during early 10th century CE. The areas around Girna River in Kalvan taluka of Nasik district were also exploited. The Chinchani inscription of 926 CE that records the grant of a village to a temple mentions that the donated village had stream along all four sides, hill, a village and three localities as boundaries.

While *agraharas* were created along riverbanks in Pune, Ahemadnagar, Aurangabad, Satara, Kolhapur, Bid districts and parts of Vidarbha, temples were patronised in intensively populated areas in northern Konkan and northern Maharashtra. But no grants were given either to temples or Brahmanas in eastern most part of Vidarbha and Solapur district. In fact, there is no reference to any geographical division in Solapur district in any of Rashtrakuta records.

Later Chalukyas: Only two grants were given to the Brahmanas during the rule of later Chalukyas, of which only one was given by the king Vikramaditya V, while one was made by the chief minister of a feudatory of the King.

But a large number of grants were given to the temples during this period, though only handful were given by the royal household. The endowments were made in the southern districts of Kolhapur, Solapur and Sangli and in southeastern districts of Nanded, Latur, Osmanabad and Bid. The Hottul inscription of later half of 11th century CE refers to Yerga *vishaya* as Yerga 1000. It had 1000 villages as a *nishka* and *dramma* out of the revenue of each of these 1000 villages was donated to the temple of Siddheshvara at Kalyan in the Bidar district of Karnataka. This Yeragi in Deglur taluka of Nanded was an *agrahara* as mentioned in Yeragi inscriptions of 1134, 1138, 1149 CE and was obviously intensively settled. The areas around Krishna River were also populated. The Miraj inscription of 1154 CE mentions that the donated land was in a village, which was bound by six villages, hill range and Krishna River. There is a reference to a stream of sweet water and collection of salty water.

Like later Chalukyas, the Kalachuri grants to temples were also given in the southern and southeastern areas, mainly in Solapur district.

Yadavas: The Early Yadavas ruled as feudatories of the later Chalukyas in Seunadesh (region around Nasik) with capital at Sinnar. Six grants are available of the early Yadavas recording the creation of *agraharas* for the Brahmanas. All these *agraharas* were created in northern and northwestern parts of Ahemadnagar district in Sangamner, Akole and Rahuri talukas along the Pravara River. The region to the west of Sangamner was utilized most. Some of these grants were given to a group of Brahmanas with the chief Brahmana holding an important position of *Mahapradhana* or *Mahasandhivigrahaka*. Of the seven grants to Brahmanas during the rule of imperial Yadavas, four were made by the kings, two by royal officials and one by the king along with an official. Five of these *agraharas* were located right on the riverbanks, of Godavari in Ahemadnagar and Bid districts, Hiryanakeshi in Kolhapur district and Sambhavaja (not identified) in Thane district, while one donated village was close to the Godavari River in Aurangabad district. Yadava general Kholeshvara founded two *agraharas*, at Khollapura on the bank of river Payoshni and on the bank of Vanjara River in Amradesha or areas around Ambejogai.

But the endowments to temples were given in northern Maharashtra, southern and southeastern Maharashtra. There are only three inscriptions from Vidarbha, two from Aurangabad and one from Thane district. There are none from Pune, Ahemadnagar and Nasik district, the areas that were preferred by early and imperial Yadavas for creating *agraharas*. Again, the villages that were donated were primarily located on riverbanks. The Mandrup inscription of 1187 CE records that the donated village Ankulage was on the bank of river Sinne (Sina), while the donated village Kurundwad as recorded in the Khidrapur inscription of 1224-25 CE is situated at the confluence of rivers Krishna and Veni.

Shilaharas: Of the twenty Brahmana grants during Shilahara period, all except one were made by the northern Shilaharas, while one was given by the Shilaharas of Kolhapur. The grants by northern Shilaharas were made mainly in Thane and Raigarh districts, while one was in the Ratnagiri district. Unlike other areas and dynasties, the Brahmana grants by northern Shilaharas in north Konkan comprised of cash, tax remission, and produce of orchards/fields along with the usual donation of creating an *agrahara*.

The northern Shilaharas patronised temples in northern Konkan. A number of donated villages and plots of land were on river, stream or a watercourse. The Bhare inscription of 997 CE records that the donated village had two villages and two rivers, Murula to south and Kumbhari to east as boundaries. The Kharepatan inscription of 1008 CE records the donation of three villages, of which one had a cistern, water course, salty river and a road to another village as boundaries; another had water course (caused by heavy rains), sea and two rivers as boundaries; while one had hill of certain village, twin rock of a hill, water course and stone as boundaries. Though these villages were near watercourses, they do not appear to be very fertile, occupying area near hills and near salty river.

The Shilaharas of Kolhapur patronised a number of temples at Kolhapur and in areas around Kolhapur. Many of these temples were endowed with villages, land, gardens and house-sites in southern areas of Kolhapur district, the area around Gargoti. It was probably a conscious attempt to bring this area under cultivation and settlement.

Thus, it appears that the areas along the banks of major rivers such as Godavari, Krishna, Nira, Sina, Pravara, Bhima, Varana, Mula, Manjra, Vainganga, Purna & Kanhan in Pune, Ahemadnagar, Aurangabad, Satara, Amaravati, Yeotmal, Akola and Yeotmal districts and also some of the minor rivers such as Painganga, Ghataprabha, Hiranyakeshi in Chandrapur and Kolhapur districts were exploited to create *agraharas*. Most probably, these areas were scantily populated and the creation of *agraharas* was an attempt at bringing these areas under regular agriculture and into the fold of mainstream Brahmanical society.

Compared to this, the temples were largely patronised in the southern and southeastern areas of Kolhapur, Solapur, Sangli, Osmanabad, Latur and Nanded districts, which were probably more intensively populated. The northern Maharashtra and northern Konkan were also prominent areas and were intensively populated. It will be interesting to see the types of sites that were preferred for patronising temples.

Significance of temple sites

As noticed earlier, though there are 255 inscriptions recording construction of temples and granting donations to them, there are in fact, only 146 sites, where these temples were

located, primarily because a few of the temples were endowed with more than one grant over a long period of time and also because a particular site had a number of temples. Apparently, a few temples and/or some sites were more significant, either considered more sacred, or held important position in the contemporary society as a seat of power or as a trading centre. The geographical location of some of these sites, on the banks of river, on the confluence of rivers or in the fertile areas with good quality soil, could have been responsible for their emergence as prominent places.

The table below enlists significant features of these sites.

No	District	Sites from where grants have furnished	No of grants from the site	Location of temple as mentioned in grants	Special features of the site
1	Ahemadnagar	Nevasa	1	N.A.	Nevasa is situated on the banks of river Pravara. Celebrated as religious and pilgrimage place (Ahemadnagar District Gazetteer, 1976, pp. 913-915). Was known as Nidhivasa Khampana during the period of Yadavas (Thosar 2004).
2	Akola	Barshi Takli	1	Barshi Takli	Situated on the bank of a rivulet. It was the headquarters of a royal family contemporary to Yadavas. One of the rulers of this family claims to have made his capital Tekkali another Varanasi. Three Hemadpanthi temples and numerous remains of late medieval period (Akola District Gazetteer year 1977, pp. 842-845, Personal visit).
3	Amaravati	Nandgaon	1	Nandgaon	
4		Varud	1	Varud	
5	Aurangabad	Phulambari	1	N.A.	Phulambari lies on the Phulmasta rivulet with very fertile soil that yields abundant crops of sugarcane. There are remains of ruined temples and icons (Aurangabad District Gazetteer 1977, p. 1038).
6		Sillod	1	Sillod	

7		Paithan	1	Paithan	This ancient capital of Satavahanas is situated on the right bank of Godavari and is considered to have been founded by Brahma himself (Aurangabad District Gazetteer, 1977, pp. 1033-1038). The ancient Pratishthana was headquarters of Pratishthana <i>vishaya</i> and Pratishthana <i>bhukti</i> during the times of Rashtrakutas (Thosar 2004).
8		Apegaon-Khurd, Paithan Taluka	1	Apegaon-Khurd	
9	Bid	Ambejogai	5	N.A. (2), Ambegojai (2) Brahmapuri (suburb of Ambejogai-1)	Ambejogai is situated on both sides of river Jayanti, which rises in the Bhimakunda <i>tirtha</i> close to the town. The Jayanti River meets Banaganga River a little below Mukundraj samadhi, also close to the town. The town has been associated with goddess Jogeshvari from ancient times and is considered to be one of the ' <i>Shakta pithas</i> ' (Bid District Gazetteer 1969, p. 631, Personal visit). Was known as Amrapura or Amba desh during the times of later Chalukyas and Yadavas (Thosar 2004).
10		Chanai, Ambejogai taluka	1	Chanai	One of the highest hills in Balaghat range is near Chanai reaching up to the height of 2,287 ft (697 m) (Bid District Gazetteer, 1969, p. 3).
11		Dharmapuri, Ambejogai taluka	4	N.A. (2), Dharmapuri (2)	Two old temples, one of which is very decorative (Personal visit).
12		Garsoli, Ambejogai taluka	1	Garsoli	
13		Manur, Majalgaon taluka	1	N.A.	

14		Patoda	1	Patoda	The village is situated on the confluence of the rivers Sayala and Manjra. There are seven temples dedicated to Shiva on account of which it is also known as the abode of ' <i>sapta rishis</i> '. The <i>linga</i> in Gupteshvara temple is underneath a pool of water formed by the confluence (Bid District Gazetteer, 1969, p.662).
15	Buldhana	Amarapur, Chikhli taluka	1	Amabadapur (Amarapur)	Ruins of two Hemadpanthi temples (Buldhana District Gazetteer, 1976, p. 753).
16		Parda, Mehkar taluka	1	Parda	
17	Chandrapur	Bhandak (Bhadravati), Varoda taluka	4	Bhandak (3), Amaravati (1)	Bhadravati occupies the top of a low broad plateau of rock thickly covered with soil. It is an old settlement, identified with great city of Bhadravati referred in Mahabharata. A large number of Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical icons/temple parts are scattered around (Chandrapur District Gazetteer, 1973, pp. 741-744).
18		Deotek, Brahmapuri taluka	1	Chikkamburi (Chikmara)	
19	Dhule	Dhabadev (Boradi), Shirpur taluka	2	N.A.	
20		Kasare, Sakri taluka	1	N.A.	
21		Methi, Sindhkhed taluka	1	Methi	
22	Hingoli	Ranjana, Vasamatnagar taluka	1	Ranjana	
23		Bahal, Chalisgaon taluka	1	Bahal	Was the headquarters of the division known as Bahali or Bahula <i>vishaya</i> during the times of early Rashtrakutas in 7 th century CE (Thosar 2004). The settlement dates back to Chalcolithic period (Kapre 1961, p. 41).

24	Jalgaon	Mehun, Muktainagar taluka (formerly Edalabad taluka)	2	N.A. (on the bank of Tapi river)	Situated at the confluence of rivers Tapi and Purna. Well- preserved temple of Shiva (Jalgaon District Gazetteer, 1962, p.801).
25		Patne, Chalisingaon taluka	1	Patne	Strategically located in the picturesque valley, at the entrance of one of the chief passes through Satmala hills. A rivulet, Ad nala, fed by innumerable rivulets trickling down the hills, flows through the village. There are two Jaina and one Brahmanical caves and four temples, datable between 10 th to 12 th centuries CE. It was the capital city of Nikumbha family, feudatory of Yadavas. The town was enclosed with mud fortifications during late medieval period (Jalgaon District Gazetteer, 1962, pp 807-809, Personal visit).
26		Vaghli, Chalisingaon taluka	1	Vaghli	Situated on the left bank of Tittur river. There are three temples, one of which is on the riverbank (Jalgaon District Gazetteer 1962, p. 816, Personal visit). There are also ruins of a step-well (Katre 1961, p. 48)
27	Jalna	Rohilgad, Ambad taluka	1	N.A.	It has a ruined fort and number of sculptures of Yadava period (Deshpande B. S. 1974)

28	Kolhapur	Alte, Hatakangale taluka	1	Alte	Lies in Varna valley, has a good supply of water as three rivulets surround the village. Old caves in a hill nearby (Kolhapur District Gazetteer, 1960, pp. 834-835). Was headquarters of the geographical division known as Alaktaka <i>vishaya</i> in the times of Rashtrakutas, which came to be called Altage 700 during the period of later Chalukyas (Thosar 2004). In the village, there are loose sculptures of Gaja-Lakshmi, Vishnu, Nandi and three hero-stones (Kapre 1961, p. 50).
29		Bamani, Kagal taluka	1	Bamani	Situated on the bank of river Dudhaganga.
30		Gadhinglaj, Gadhinglaj taluka	1	N.A.	Gadhinglaj lies on the left bank of Hiranyakeshi river, close to the Sankeshvar-Amboli pass. The famous fort of Samangad is situated around 10 km to the southeast of the town (Kolhapur District Gazetteer, 1960, pp. 837-839).
31		Herle, Karavir taluka	1	Herla	There is a 12 th century CE temple of Bhairavanatha (Kapre 1961, p. 53).
32		Honnur, Kagal taluka	2	N.A. (1), Honnur (1)	
33		Khidrapur	1	Khidrapur	The village lies on the bank of Krishna river, where it meanders sharply. The Koppeshvara temple from which this inscription is furnished is one of the most decorative and elaborate temples of the region. There is also a Jaina temple nearby. Both the temples are datable to 12 th century CE (Kolhapur District Gazetteer 1960, p. 847, Personal visit).

34		Kolhapur	22	Ainidala (1), Brahmapuri (surburb of Kolhapur-1), Ekanagavir (not identified-1), Huvinabage (1), Kolhapur (10), N.A. (5)	The ancient town of Kolhapur stands on rising ground on the south bank of the river Panchaganga. The early historic town was situated at Brahmapuri and during medieval period it was the capital city of Shilaharas. It has been celebrated as the abode of goddess Mahalakshmi and is considered to be one of the ' <i>Shakta pithas</i> ' (Kolhapur District Gazetteer 1960, p. 848, Personal visit). Was the headquarters of the division known as Kollapura desh during the times of the Yadavas (Thosar 2004).
35		Kusba Saogaon, Kagal taluka	1	Saogaon	
36		Talale	1	Rukdi (Near Kolhapur, Hatkangale taluka)	Rukdi lies on Kolhapur-Miraj road, about 15 km east of Kolhapur and 1.6 km from Panchaganga River (Kolhapur District Gazetteer, 1960, p. 892).
37		Terni, Gadhinglaj taluka	1	Deridala	
38	Latur	Ganeshvadi (Hippalagaon), Nilanga taluka	1	Pippalagram (Hippalagaon)	
39		Kanhegaon, Udgir taluka	1	Sakole (3 miles east of Kanhegaon)	
40		Latur	1	Latur	
41		Ramling- Mudgad, Nilanga taluka	1	Ramling-Mudgad	Numerous Brahmanical and Jaina icons scattered across the village (Personal visit). Headquarters of the division known as Modagolu Nadu during the times of later Chalukyas (Thosar 2004).
42	Mumbai	Jogeshvari cave	1	Jogeshvari	Famous Brahmanical caves
43		Parel (found near Kurla)	1	Darbhavati (Dabhoi, Baroda dt. Gujarat)	

44	Nagpur	Ramtek	2	Ramtek	Famous ancient religious place. The town lies round the foot of a detached hill forming the western extremity of the small Ambagad range. The hill contains a large number of temples, a few of which date back to the Vakataka period (Nagpur District Gazetteer, 1966, pp. 763-767)
45		Nagpur	1	N.A.	
46	Nanded	Adampur, Biloli taluka	1	N.A.	
47		Ardhapur	2	N.A.	
48		Bimra, Deglur taluka	1	N.A.	
49		Devapur, Deglur taluka	1	N.A.	
50		Eklara, Mukhed taluka	2	Eklara (1), N.A. (1)	
51		Ghulla, Deglur taluka	1	N.A.	
52		Hottul, Deglur taluka	3	Kalyan (Bidar dt., Karnatak-1), Erige (Yeragi-1), N.A. (1)	Hottul village has a large number of ruined structures, most prominent of which are two beautiful temples (Sircar & Bhattacharya 1963-64b). Hottul represents Pottalakere, the early capital of the later Chalukyas (Thosar 2004). Kalyan was the capital city of later Chalukyas.
53		Junni, Biloli taluka	1	Junni	There are a large number of ruined structures and icons lying scattered in the village. Was the headquarters of the geographical division, Junavani <i>vishaya</i> (Thosar 2004)

54		Kandhar	1	Kandhar	Located on the bank of Manyad River. An important place during Rashtrakuta period. A large number of Brahmanical and Jaina temples remains and icons are scattered around. Also known as Panchalpuri, traditionally held to be the place of Draupadi's marriage with Pandavas (Nanded District Gazetteer, 1971, pp. 566-568). Was known as Khandara desh during the times of Yadavas (Thosar 2004).
55		Karadkhed, Deglur taluka	10	Karadkhed	
56		Sagroli, Biloli taluka	4	N.A. (2). Sagroli (2)	Situated on the bank of Manjra River. Sagroli was the headquarters of the division, Savaravalli Kampana as mentioned in the inscriptions of the later Chalukyas (Thosar 2004)
57		Suggaon, Mukhed taluka	1	N.A.	
58		Tadkhel, Deglur taluka	2	Karadkhed (1), Tadkhel (1)	
59		Unakdeva, Kinwat taluka	1	Unakadeva	Situated on the bank of Penganaga river. The village has natural hot-water springs and is considered a <i>tirthakshetra</i> (Nanded District Gazetteer, 1971, pp. 585-586).
60		Yeragi, Deglur taluka	4	Erige (Yeragi-3), N.A. (1)	Headquarters of the geographical division known as Yeragi <i>vishaya</i> in the inscriptions of later Chalukyas.
61	Nandurb ar	Prakashe, Shahada taluka	1	Prakashe	It is situated on Tapi river at the point where the river joins its two tributaries. The soil is very fertile. It has proto-historic origins and since beginning of at least 17 th century, is known as the centre of pilgrimage (Dhule District Gazetteer, 1974, pp. 817-820).

62	Nasik	Anjaneri, Nasik taluka	2	Anjaneri (1), Jayapur (Jarvar Budrukh, 9 miles southwest of Anjaneri-1)	Anjaneri is situated near Trymbakeshvar, source of river Godavari. The hill nearby, also known as Anjaneri, is famous for a shrine of Anjani goddess, mother of Hanuman (Nasik District Gazetteer 1975, pp. 869-872). Large number of Brahmanical and Jaina temples of 12 th -13 th century CE scattered around the village.
63		Kalvan	1	Northern part of Nasik	
64		Nasik dt.	1	N.A.	
65		Vajirkhed, Malegaon taluka	2	Vadner (15 miles northwest of Malegaon-1), Chandanapuri (2 miles south of Malegaon-1)	Vadner is situated on the bank of Mosam river (Kolte 1969; Kolte 1987, No 15, pp. 256-287). Vadner was the known as Vatanagarika 84 and was headquarters of Vatanagara <i>vishaya</i> , while Chandanapuri was the headquarters of Chandanapuri 84 during the period of Rashtrakutas (Thosar 2004).
66	Osmanabad	Andur, Tuljapur taluka	2	Andur	Two Hemadpanthi temples. Known for temple of Khandoba (Osmanabad District Gazetteer, 1972, p. 754). Headquarters of the geographical division known as Ananduru 300 in the inscriptions of 11 th -12 th century CE.
67		Dalim, Umarga taluka	1	Dalim	Was headquarters of the division known as Dadimba 12 and was part of Moramba 80 (Murum, Umaraga taluka, Osmanabad district) as mentioned in the inscriptions of later Chalukyas. It is referred to as Bididadimba, indicating that it was the military base (Thosar 2004).
68		Itkal, Tuljapur taluka	1	Sonalige (suburb of Solapur)	

69		Manakeshvar, Paranda taluka	1	N.A.	There is a very decorative temple of Mankeshvar on the banks of Vishvakarma rivulet (Osmanabad District Gazetteer 1972, p. 778). Was the headquarters of the geographical division known as Manaka vishaya during the times of the Rashtrakutas (Thosar 2004)
70		Murum, Umarga taluka	1	N.A.	Murum is settled along the banks of Benithura river with fertile land (Osmanabad District Gazetteer 1972, pp. 779-780). Headquarters of Murumba vishaya during the period of Rashtrakutas and Moramba Nadu during later Chalukyas. During the latter period it is also mentioned as the headquarters of the division of 80 villages and is also described as ' <i>rajadhani</i> ' (Thosar 2004).
71		Savargaon, Tuljapur taluka	4	Tuljapur (1), Savargaon (2), N.A. (1)	Savargaon has 12 temples, some of which are of Parshvanatha, Tukai, Mallikarjuna and Nagoba. Most of these are Hemadpanthi and belong to the Yadava period. The village is associated with the legends of Rama, who is said to have visited the place on the way to <i>dandakarayana</i> . The <i>linga</i> in Mallikarjuna temple is considered to be ' <i>svayambhu</i> '. The village also has a late medieval mud fort (Tulpule 1963, No. 66, pp. 348-349; Osmanabad District Gazetteer 1972, pp. 796-797).
72		Ter, Osmanabad taluka	2	Ter (1), N.A. (1)	Settled along both banks of Terna river. Important early historic urban centre and celebrated religious place of medieval period. Shilaharas are considered to originate from this place (Osmanabad District Gazetteer, 1972, p.799).
73	Parbhani	Vazur, Gangakhed taluka	1	Vazur	

74		Hatnur, Selu taluka	1	Hatnur	Situated on the northern bank of Dudhna river (Parbhani District Gazetteer)
75	Pune	Palasdev, Indapur taluka	1	Palasdev	Formerly called Ratnapur, it is a large market village on south bank of Bhima river with two medieval temples. According to the local legend one of the temples was built by cowherds about 1680 CE, but it is datable to 12 th -13 th century CE. A number of Vaishnavite icons are found near temple. It is referred to as a <i>tirtha-kshetra</i> in <i>Bhima mahatmya</i> . Occasional pottery is also found while ploughing the fields (Kosambi 1963; Poona District Gazetteer 1954, p. 626)
76		Deoulgaon-Raje, Daund taluka	1	N.A.	
77	Raigarh	Akshi, Alibag taluka	2	Akshi (1), N.A. (1)	One of the chief garden or 'bagayat' villages along the coast from where large quantities of vegetables, fruits and betel-leaves are sent to Mumbai. Has two temples, of Kalika devi and Someshvara Mahadeva with inscriptional slabs (Kolaba District Gazetteer 1964, p. 697).
78		Chanje, Panvel taluka	1	Sthanaka (Thane)	Was an important port and market town known as Sthanaka <i>pattana</i> .
79		Dive-Agar, Shrivardhan taluka	1	Kadadroho-Votinera (not identified)	
80	Ratnagiri	Chiplun	1	N.A.	
81		Jalgaon, Dapoli taluka	1	N.A.	
82		Kasheli, Rajapur taluka	1	Kasheli	
83		Tervan, Rajapur taluka	1	Tervan	
84		Bhalavani, Khanapur taluka	4	Bhalavani (2), N.A. (2)	

85	Sangli	Chikurde, Islampur taluka	1	N.A.	Lies in Varna valley with fertile land, on the bank of Varna river (Sangli District Gazetteer, 1969, pp. 682-683).
86		Desinga Borgaon, Kavathe Mahamkala taluka	1	Desinga Borgaon	
87		Kavalapur, Sangli taluka	1	Kavalapur	Situated on a small stream, which rising in the Dandoba hills, runs into Krishna river. There are 14 Brahmanical temples and a Jaina <i>basti</i> , mostly of relatively modern period. A yearly fair along with market is held at one of the temples (Sangli District Gazetteer, 1969, p. 694).
88		Madgrihal, Jath taluka	1	Madgrihal	
89		Miraj	2	Miraj (1), N.A. (1)	Centrally situated in terms of transport and communication. Has an impressive fort (Sangli District Gazetteer, 1969, pp. 707-717). Was headquarters of the division known as Mirinje Gampana and Mirinje 300, mentioned in the inscriptions of later Chalukyas and also known as Mirinje desh, Mirinja Nadu and Mirinje Gampana in the inscriptions of Shilaharas (Thosar 2004).
90		Tasgaon	1	N.A.	Situated on the northern bank of a stream flowing into Yerla river. Has a ruined fort. Now it is a commercial centre and has a large community of traders (Sangli District Gazetteer, 1969, pp. 740-743).
91		Umadi, Jath taluka	1	Umadi	
92	Satara	Umrani	3	Umrani	
93		Bhivaghat	2	Aundha	
94		Ner, Khatav taluka	1	Ner	

95	Solapur	Achegaon, South Solapur taluka	1	Achegaon	
96		Akkalkot	7	Hande-kkadi (1), Daithana (1), Samantana-dhudunige (Satanadudhani-1), Hilli (1), Karanjige (2)	There is one Hilli southwest of Akkalkot, while there is one Darshanahalli northwest of Akkalkot and east of Solapur (Solapur District Gazetteer 1977).
97		Aurad, South Solapur taluka	1	Avaravadi (Aurad)	
98		Bagehalli, Akkalkot taluka	2	Javur (1), Bavugeyahalli (Bagehalli-1)	
99		Bhandarakavathe, South Solapur taluka	3	N.A.	
100		Darphal, North Solapur taluka	1	Darphal	
101		Gunjegaon, South Solapur taluka	3	Sonnalige (surburb of Solapur)	
102		Hanamgaon, South Solapur taluka	1	Hanamgaon	
103		Hutgi, South Solapur taluka	1	Hotige (Hutgi)	
104		Jambgaon	1	Sonalige (surburb of Solapur)	
105		Kamati Khurd, Mohol taluka	2	N.A.	
106		Konhalli, Akkalkot taluka	1	N.A.	
107		Koravali, Mohol taluka	1	Koravali	A number of old icons have been found at the village. Among them is a Siva <i>linga</i> with two faces and a Nandi figure. The inscriptional slab was found from the mound of 'white soil', which was used by the villagers to repair houses (Kumbhar 1974). There is an old temple of Mallikarjuna and herostones. Red & black pottery has reported from the site (Kapre 1961, p. 105).

108		Kudal, South Solapur taluka	3	Kudal (1), N.A. (2)	Situated at the confluence of Sina and Bhima rivers. There are two beautiful temples, datable to 12 th century CE (Solapur District Gazetteer, 1977, pp. 863-864).
109		Kumbhari, South Solapur taluka	4	Kumbhari (3), N.A. (1)	Was the headquarters of <i>kampana</i> of 60 villages- referred to as Kumbarigave 60 in the inscription
110		Madre, South Solapur taluka	1	N.A.	
111		Malakavathe, South Solapur taluka	1	N.A.	
112		Mandrup, South Solapur taluka	3	Mandubbe (Mandrup)	Situated midway between Bhima and Sina rivers. It was once a market town (Solapur District Gazetteer, 1977, pp. 866-867). Was headquarters of the division known as Mandubbe 30 and/or Mandurva 30 and fell under Kumbarigave Kampana as mentioned in the inscriptions of later Chalukyas (Thosar 2004).
113		Mangalvedha	6	Bagivada (1), N.A. (5)	Mangalvedha was the capital of Kalachuris for some time. Innumerable remains of 11 th -12 th centuries lying around. A fort was built in 1493 CE using materials of old temples. Associated with a number of saint-poets (Solapur District Gazetteer, 1977, pp. 867-872).
114		Mangrul, Akkalkot taluka	1	N.A.	

115		Mardi, North Solapur taluka	7	Gavareshvarpur (probably surburb of Mardi-3), N.A. (4)	Mardi has two Hemadpanthi temples, a step-well and a mosque built of stones from a temple. There is an undecipherable Kannada inscription on mosque wall (Solapur District Gazetteer, 1977, p. 872). Headquarter of geographical division called Marudhinagara 80 in the inscription of Yadava king Bhilma V (Thosar 2004). A number of loose Jaina icons, Vishnu image, Nandi and hero-stones are scattered in the village (Kapre 1961, p. 105).
116		Mauje Vafale, Mandhe taluka	1	Bagavi (Bavi 3 miles west of Vafale)	There are hero-stones and Gaja-Lakshmi stele in the village (Kapre 1961, p. 110).
117		Nimbargi, South Solapur taluka	1	Nimbargi	
118		Pandharpur	4	Pandharpur	Situated along the right bank of Bhima, which bends in half-moon shape here and that is why the river is called Chandrabhaga at this place. Focus of Varakari sect and a very famous place of pilgrimage (Solapur District Gazetteer, 1977, p. 879).
119		Pulunj, Pandharpur taluka	1	Pulunj	Situated on Bhima river. There is an old temple of Keshva-Narayana from where the inscription has been found. There are icons of Vishnu, Lakshmi-Narayana, Narasimha, hero-stones scattered in the village (Kapre 1961, p. 108).
120		Satan Dudhani, Akkalkot taluka	1	Satan Dudhani	Situated on the western bank of Bori River. There are one or two Chalukyan temples in the village (Kumbhar 2001b)
121		Shivani, North Solapur taluka	1	Srisailam (Andhra Pradesh)	

122		Solapur	3	N.A. (1), Sonalige (surburb of Solapur-2)	Situated in the watershed of Adila, a feeder of Sina river, which it joins about 13 km east of Solapur. The town is in the centre of a large plain with thin layer of soil except at some places (Solapur District Gazetteer, 1977, pp. 967-968).
123		Sirval, Akkalkot taluka	1	Siravolal (Sirval)	
124		Tadaval, Akkalkot taluka	1	Sonalige (surburb of Solapur)	
125		Tirtha, South Solapur taluka	3	Tirtha	It is one of the five places from where the river Sina is crossed by ferries (Solapur District Gazetteer, 1977, p.8).
126		Vangi, South Solapur taluka	1	Vangi	It is one of the five places from where the river Sina is crossed by ferries (Solapur District Gazetteer 1977, p.8).
127		Velapur	2	Velapur	The village has a large Hemadpanthi temple, known as Ardhnari Nateshwar. A large number of hero-stones are found in the vicinity (Solapur District Gazetteer, 1977, p. 1003).
128	Sindhudurg	Kharepatan, Devagad taluka	1	N.A.	Famous medieval port. It has a colony of Karnataka Jainas. The Jaina temple has an icon of Parshvanatha, which was found in the riverbed (Ratnagiri District Gazetteer, 1962, pp. 763-764).
129		Satarda, Sawantwadi taluka	2	Samantavada (1), N.A. (1)	
130		Veture, Vengurle taluka	1	Veture	

131	Thane	Ambarnath, Kalyan taluka	1	Ambarnath	The inscription comes from one of the earliest securely dated temples of the region datable to 11 th century CE. The temple is located on the left bank of a tributary of the Valdhan river in a hollow (Thane District Gazetteer, 1982, pp. 949-950).
132		Bassein (Vasai), Vasai taluka	1	N.A.	Situated on the right or the north bank of the Thane creek, 9.6 km south of Sopara, it was a famous port during the times of the Portuguese (Thane District Gazetteer, 1982, pp. 968-977). Was headquarters of the division known as Vatsaraja vishaya during the times of the Shilaharas (Thosar 2004).
133		Berlin Museum	1	Kunde (Bhiwandi taluka)	
134		Bhere, Bhiwandi taluka	1	Lonad (6 miles southeast of Bhiwandi)	
135		Chaudharapada , Bhiwandi taluka	1	N.A.	
136		Chinchani, Dahanu taluka	2	Sanjan	
137		Kalvar, Bhiwandi taluka	1	N.A.	
138		Lonad, Bhiwandi taluka	1	Lonad	Remains of temple.
139		Mandavi, Vasai taluka	1	Mandavali (Mandavi)	
140		Manor, Palghar taluka	1	Manor	
141		Nandui	1	N.A.	
142		Thane	1	Prabhas Patan (Gujarat)	

143		Vada	1	N.A. (Probably at Vada)	Situated near Pinjal river, which joins Vaitarana river near Vada. There were two parallel traditions prevalent on the western coast, that of <i>sapta-konkana</i> and of <i>sapta-kotishvara</i> . The deity mentioned in the inscription which was granted land and garden is called ' <i>Kotishvara</i> '. It is probable that Vada was one of the seven ancient <i>Kotishvara-sthanas</i> (Ramesh K. V. 1973).
144	Washim	Kata, Wasim taluka	1	Kata	The village is located near the source of Katepurna or Karun river, while the temple from which the inscription is found is called Kantheshvar temple (Tulpule 1963, No. 49, pp. 244-247).
145	Yeotmal	Vai	1	N.A.	There are a number of ancient remains scattered in Vai, including the icons of Chamunda, Shiva-Parvati, Sheshashayi Vishnu. To the east of the village, there is a ruined Hemadpanthi temple with remains of pillars and Jaina icons scattered about (Kolte 1987, No. 2, pp. 10-14).
146		Dongargaon, Pusad taluka	1	Dongargaon	

Table 11: Significance of Temple Sites

Apparently, a number of temple sites were on the riverbank or on the confluence of two streams, which could have rendered the place more sacred. Most of these sites appear to have been thriving centres with political-economic and religious significance as indicated by a large number of contemporary temples and a few inscriptions as well as other remains of later period such as fortifications, houses and palaces. While some of these sites were headquarters of important geographic divisions over a long period, some were capital cities and prosperous towns.

It has been observed that there was a direct relationship between temple settlements/geography and agrarian expansion. Such trend is noticed in the case of Cholas as

with each *agrahara* or temple settlement, an irrigation system in the form of tank, well or canal was established in Pallava-Pandya region of Tamil Nadu and similar trend has been observed in the case of Shorapur doab in Karnataka (Dayal 1997, p. 107). In Maharashtra too, there are a few evidences to suggest that along with the temples, irrigation systems were also established. *Mahapradhan* and *Senapati* of Vikramaitya VI, Bhimadeva built a tank at Hippalgaon in Nilanga taluka of Latur district, as recorded in Ganeshwadi inscription of 1099 CE. Shilahara king Gandaraditya built a tank called Gandasamudra at Rukadi near Kolhapur as recorded in Talale inscription of 1110 CE. The temples of Shiva, Buddha and Arhat were on the bank of this tank. Rukadi still has a large tank. The Kandhar inscription of Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (10th century CE- 939-967 CE) refers to a temple of Sagareshvara situated on the embankment of a tank called Jagattungasamudra. The Vaghali inscription of 1069 CE mentions that the Maurya king Govindaraja built the temple of Siddheshvara with a tank or a well attached to it. The Dhabadev inscription of around 1128 CE mentions that Yadava prince Melugideva built a temple of goddess Kondaivva and a well. Dhabadev is located in a forest about 10 kilometers from Boradi in Shirpur taluka of Dhule district, which still has a ruined pond or tank (Tulpule 1963, No. 64, pp. 341-343). The Madgrihal grant of 1172 CE records that under Kalachuri king Soyideva, the *prabhu* of Malige, Bijjaya Nayaka built two Shiva temples and also a pond near the temples. Gamiyaya, minister of King Hemadrideva of an unknown dynasty built a Vishnu temple at Tekkali (Barshi Takli, Akola district) and also excavated a deep tank and a well for the use of people as recorded in the Barshi Takli inscription of 1177 CE. There is a tank in front of the Hemadpanthi Shiva temple at Hatnur in Parbhani district, which has yielded an inscription. An undated inscription of Yadava general Kholeshvara (13th century CE) from Ambejogai mentions that he built a large tank resembling a river in Dharura *desha* (Dharur, Bid district). Thus, the feudatories, officials and kings built tanks, wells and ponds close to the temples. These water works were for the use of temple and devotees flocking the temple, but could also have been used for irrigation. Thus, most temple settlements were on riverbanks and/or with tanks/ponds/wells occupying fertile areas with ample water sources. These settlements might have been instrumental in expansion and intensification of agriculture. Some of the major rivers such as Krishna, Manjra, Sina and Bhima could have also been used for navigation and transport of goods and thus such temple settlements must have been important commercial towns.

But the significance of a site was not only in terms of its agricultural value, fertile land and good rains, but also location on routes or on strategic position, which played role in

its emergence as capital city or market town. Sontheimer has argued that the Hemadpanthi temples in Maharashtra are primarily found at the intersections of trade routes such as at Velapur in Solapur district, Mahuli in Satara district and Pandharpur in Solapur district. (Sontheimer 1989). There were number of temple settlements which were important because of their strategic location such as Patne, Miraj, Kharepatan, Vasai (Bassein) etc.

Thus, the temple-sites that were patronised were obviously very important settlements. These were either considered more sacred, because of location on rivers, confluences or near hot springs or were prominent urban centre/port/market town, the headquarters of a geographical division or base of officials/feudatories.

CHAPTER 5

EPILOGUE

Temple emerged as an important institution in medieval India, primarily as a religious set-up, but also evolved into a socio-economic and educational organization. Temple building and temple patronage was not only an act of earning religious merit, but also a way to demonstrate and emphasize one's position and power in the medieval society. Temple was used by kings as well as their feudatories as an instrument to make their presence felt in the contemporary society and getting their religious acts, along with high-sounding eulogy, written on imperishable stone slabs or copper plates was necessary to advertise this fact as a permanent record. Consequently, a large number of such records are available that provide insight into intricacies of patronage trends, temple organisation, religious activities and many socio-economic-political aspects of the contemporary society, though the overwhelming amount of only temple-related data may provide a skewed picture with overemphasis on temple and under representation of the section of society other than rulers, feudatories and 'high class'.

South India, especially Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, has rich and prolific tradition of epigraphic data and numerous studies carried out based on this data have revealed that temple was a rich, well-organized and powerful institution in these areas. Compared to this region, the numbers of temple related records in Maharashtra are limited. There are about 255 inscriptions from 146 sites that record temple building and temple patronising activities of various classes of the society over a long period, from 4th century CE to 14th century CE. This study attempts to understand the temple institution in medieval Maharashtra with the help of epigraphic sources.

EMERGENCE OF TEMPLES IN MAHARASHTRA

The temple gained prominence in Maharashtra only from 11th century CE onwards, though there are few inscriptions that record temple patronage activities from 4th century CE and a few architectural remains of temples dating to 5th to 7th century CE are available in Vidarbha and Ter. But this period was primarily dominated by Vedic tradition, whereby kings performed sacrifices and gave donations to Brahmanas. Patronising Brahmanas by creating *agraharas* was the most popular religious activity. This was the period, when uncultivated, unsettled, interior areas were brought under cultivation and consequently in

mainstream society, by settling the Brahmanas in such areas. The kings of Vakataka, early Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and early Yadava dynasties exploited the fertile areas along the banks of major rivers such as Godavari, Krishna, Nira, Sina, Pravara, Bhima, Varana, Mula, Manjra, Vainganga, Purna & Kanhan in Pune, Ahemadnagar, Aurangabad, Satara, Amaravati, Yeotmal, Akola and Yeotmal districts and also some of the minor rivers such as Painganga, Ghataprabha, Hiranyakeshi in Chandrapur and Kolhapur districts to create *agraharas*. The Shilaharas of north Konkan patronised Brahmanas in Thane and Raigarh districts, mainly by endowing them with cash, tax remissions and produce of orchards/fields and not so much by creating *agraharas*. This trend, which started in 3rd century CE, remained dominant till about 9th-10th century CE, with largest number of grants given to Brahmanas in 7th and 8th centuries CE, during the rule of Rashtrakutas.

The socio-religious trends appear to be changing gradually from 9th century onwards when the references to kings performing elaborate sacrifices reduce considerably, while emphasis on *smarta* concepts of *vrata*, *tirthayatra* and *bhakti* increase. With the increased popularity of personal god, temple emerged as an institution around which the religious activities came to be concentrated and there was a definite shift of patronage from the Brahmanas to temples. During 11th to 14th centuries CE, large number of temples were built and patronised as this period furnish largest temple grants and also most of the extant temples, which are elaborate and ornamental structures, built in *bhumija* style of architecture. The largest numbers of temples were built in 12th century CE since of the 255 temple grants, as many as 110 can be dated to this period. The role of Brahmanas changed from the performers of Vedic sacrifices to priests and caretakers of the temples and though they remained significant receivers of donations, it was their association with the temple that was more important rather than their personal standing. The temple institution flourished through 13th century CE, but appears to have eclipsed after 14th century CE till the rise of Marathas in 17th-18th century CE.

The shift of religious activities from Brahmanas to temples is noticed in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Orissa too, where after 9th-10th century CE, temple emerged as a focus of religious life to which all donations were diverted.

PATRONAGE PATTERNS

The early temples, most of which are not extant, were primarily built and sustained by the kings of Vakataka, early Chalukya and Rashtrakuta dynasties. After 10th century CE, when the temples started gaining prominence, other class such as royal officers, feudatories, merchants and people from other strata of the society became active in patronising temples. The royal officials such as *dandanayaka*, *senapati*, *mahapradhan*, *gavunda* and feudatories like *samanta*, *mahasamanta*, *mahamandaleshvara*, *mandalika* were the donors of highest number of grants. The mercantile community made handful of donations and was prominent only in southern and southeastern Maharashtra, though there are a few references to merchants as dignitaries of towns from other parts also. There are hardly any grants by individual merchant since most of the grants were made by guilds, often more than one guild. These guilds were some of the famous and powerful guilds of south India, comprising of traders from various regions and dealing in inland as well as overseas trade. There were also agricultural guilds, guilds of moneylenders, soldiers, basket makers, traders carrying goods on carts and artisans. There is specific mention of merchants of Telunga region (present Andhra Pradesh) and of Lad community (from Gujarat). A number of grants were given as joint effort of more than one class of patrons. The kings and royal households often made donations at the request of their feudatories and officials and thus collaborated with them to provide for the temple. Most of the grants by trading guilds were given along with officials, feudatories and kings and rarely as independent donations. In the case of grants by commoners, the names or the professions of the individual donors have not been specified in most examples. Although categorised as commoners here in the absence of any clear indication of their designation, it is apparent that at least some of them were related to officials and feudatories and thus held important position in the society.

Interestingly, the numbers of grants by royalty during this period is quite small compared to large number of grants by other class of patrons. It is only the local dynasties such as Shilaharas, Nikumbha and Sendraka, ruling probably in feudatory capacity, which were active in temple patronage activity. While Yadavas participated to some extent, the involvement of later Chalukya and Kalachuri kings is almost negligible. Such a trend is noticed in the case of Chola grants also, where the Chola kings and their relatives appear in only 8.5 per cent of the total grants and it has been presumed that the royalty tended to

concentrate their public activities within a limited geographical space and within this space, to only several key sites (Heitzman 1997, pp. 145-146). The grants by merchants and commoners also form a small portion of the total temple grants. In Tamil Nadu too, the endowments by private individuals and merchant guilds as recorded in Chola inscriptions accounted for a small portion of total grants (Jha 1974).

The most commonly granted item was a plot of land and village. The type of land donated is referred to as pastureland, rice fields (wet-land), fields growing *bajra* and *jawar* (dry-land), orchard etc. The quality of land is mentioned as 'high' or of 'medium'. In most cases, these plots were made tax-free or exempted from additional taxes and were located close to temple-site. In a few cases though, the plots were situated at some distance from the temple. In most cases, the land appears to be cultivated and not wasteland. In the land grants of Chalukyas of Gujarat, one of the obligations of the donee was not to make gifts of uncultivated land to temples and Brahmanas. Thus, in Gujarat, by 12th century, the progressive role of land grants in opening wasteland to cultivation had come to an end (Sharma R. S. 1961). Though not specifically mentioned, this seems to be the case in Maharashtra too. These plots were obviously given away to peasants or were cultivated for the temple by farmers. It is not clear what sort of arrangement existed between the temple and those who cultivated the land, whether the peasants were paid or were expected to part with the share of temple from the produce, keeping the rest for themselves. Unfortunately, there are no references to these details.

Another popular item of donation was entire village along with fiscal, judicial and administrative rights. Although there are occasional examples of donation of more than one village to a single temple, it is not comparable to neighbouring regions of Andhra Pradesh where there are incidents of kings donating as many as 44 villages to one temple (Suryakumari 1988). The early inscriptions of 7th-8th century CE from Nasik district record the rights of *udaranga* (major tax), *upankara* (minor tax), exemption from all dues, forced labour & special rights, non-admission of *chatas* & *bhatas* (royal police and army) and full powers of adjudication with the donated villages. By 10th-11th century a standardised set of eight rights was evolved that accompanied the donation of any village. The fiscal privileges were exemption from a few taxes and right over all the produce, along with trees & nine kinds of buried treasures. The administrative right was the jurisdiction over the village and right to punish ten offences, while the royal police and army (*chata* & *bhata*) were not

allowed entry in the donated villages. Thus, the temple almost had full control over the donated villages. In most cases, the villages granted were situated near the site of the temple, within the area of about 20 to 25 kilometers, though there are a few examples where the donated villages were situated at quite some distance from the temple site. Again, the arrangements in such cases are unclear. Probably, the produce of the village was deposited in temple treasury and administrative/judicial duties of the village must have performed by representative of temple.

House or house-sites were usually given away with plots of land and also with village. The houses were apparently for the accommodation of priests and other vast staff of the temple, though it could also have meant for storage as indicated by one of the grants, which records donation of a house to be used as a granary. The taxes, dues and revenues that were given away to the temple were levied on sale and purchase of a variety of items in towns and also on various organisations such as mint, grain market, shops and guilds. The dues were also levied on tax collectors, fiscal officers and farmsteads, while toll taxes on ships in coastal Konkan were also donated. These taxes were collected in cash as well as kind and very often temple was recipient of large amount of grains, spices, betel leaves and many such items, which must have been used in daily offerings to god and feeding Brahmanas as well as the staff of temple.

The cash grants or gifts of gold/ornaments are very limited. According to Ismail, the reason behind limited number of cash grants could have been scarcity of money during medieval period (Ismail 1984, p. 64). The cash grants were almost always kept as deposits and only the interest was to be used for temple. Flower gardens, orchards and oil-mills were also donated frequently. There are occasional references to the grants of commodities such as utensils, umbrella, flywhisks, musical instruments, shops, grains, salt, spices etc. However, there are no examples of donation of tanks, wells or canals as in Andhra Pradesh (Suryakumari 1988). Similarly, there are no references to the donation of precious jewels or gold/silver vessels as in Andhra Pradesh (Suryakumari 1988). Again, though there are occasional references to the donations of animals, these were not milk bearing animals, as was the case in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, indicating that the lamps in the temples were primarily lighted with oil rather than *ghee*.

There is a distinct pattern in the type of donations made over by a particular class. The kings and royal family invariably granted villages/land accompanied by house or house-sites and very rarely donated cash, taxes or other commodities. The feudatories and royal officials made endowments of land that was probably part of their personal estates or fiefs in most cases and sometimes also donated entire villages. There are occasional references to kings, feudatories and officials purchasing land from village heads and merchants before donating it to the temple, which indicates that the donated land must have formed part of private property. The mercantile community almost always donated taxes/dues on sale/purchase of certain items and only in one case donated village, while the common people made over the grants of cash, commodities and other items.

In Karnataka too, the patronage trends are similar. The kings and royal family primarily donated villages & land and very rarely taxes/dues, while the mercantile community usually donated taxes/dues. The merchants made donations as part of guilds and as joint efforts. The cash donations by any class of patrons were limited and donated amount was quite small. In most cases, the cash grants were kept as deposits with private persons or bodies and interest was to be used for temple. Again there are not grants of gold or gold ornaments as in Tamil Nadu.

The shift in patronage pattern from royalty to officials-feudatories, with an exception of dynasties with local influence and interests, can be explained by the nature of polity and changes in socio-religious concepts. With rising popularity of temple based on the concept of personal god and *bhakti*, people from different strata of life emerged as donors of temple-related religious activities in the place of Vedic sacrifices performed by royalty. Moreover, changes in the nature of polity, political structure and hierarchy elevated the position of officials and feudatories, who became powerful in their own areas of influence without much interference from the central government. The state during medieval period was fluid with changing boundaries. While the king was at the apex of the structure with his own set of officials, the administration was not very centralized. Most parts of the kingdom were under the control of feudatories, who acted like kings with their court, own set of officials and even feudatories in some cases, while performing certain duties, such as holding an important office, at the royal court. The officials of the kings were, most probably paid with estates for their service, over which they had complete control. The village administration was carried out in a traditional set-up by a group of people, who were important dignitaries of the village,

rather than 'royal officials', appointed by the government. The administrative, judicial and fiscal rights were with the authority under which the village fell, the king, official or feudatory, and though there might have been a general system of administration followed as per the tradition, there does not appear to have been autocratic, centralised system. There are variations in coin types and land measuring units within the known limits of a ruling dynasty. The coin minting was most probably not the exclusive right of the state and probably some merchant guilds also had right to mint coins. The so-called 'administrative divisions' of a region were in fact geographical divisions that persisted over centuries in spite of changes in ruling dynasties. The taxation system was also not sole and exclusive right of the state as the merchant guilds had the right to levy taxes on shops and on various guilds. Thus, there were many 'centres of power' in a state, which explains why there were very few royal grants to temples and why only local dynasties were more active in temple patronage. With the centre of power outside Maharashtra, later Chalukyas and Kalachuris were not much interested in patronising temples outside their sphere of influence, which were anyway, under the control of feudatories. Similarly, the local dynasties such as Shilaharas, Nikumbha and other minor dynasties, which could have been ruling in feudatory capacity, actively participated in temple patronage activities within their own areas of influence.

The emergence of mercantile community as patrons and their apparent presence in the society was the result of increased trading activities after 9th-10th century CE. Studies in south India have indicated that there was an increase in urbanisation and trade activities from 9th-10th century CE. During 12th century, a number of towns figure in epigraphic records as market towns, port towns and mint towns. Few urban settlements, which for several centuries had maintained the character of an administrative or religious town, began to be described as *nagara*, *mahanagara*, *pattana*, *mahapattana*, *vananjuvapattana* etc. During this period, organised economic activity of a non-agricultural nature was a much greater force of urbanisation than the needs of defense, administration and religion (Prasad 1989). In Maharashtra too, there are increased references to traders and trading activities after 10th century CE. There are innumerable references to various non-agricultural professions, traders, trading guilds and urban centres in epigraphs and contemporary Mahanubhava literature. The various accounts of Arab geographers and travelers point at brisk trade along the ports on costal Konkan and list vast quantities of products that were exported from these ports. Sanjan, Sopara, Thane and Chaul were important ports, while Devagiri (Daulatabad) was a prosperous, large city. The epigraphs and Mahanubhava literature indicate that Paithan,

Dharmapuri, Ambejogai and Kolhapur were some of the large, urban towns during 12th-13th centuries CE. It has often been argued that the economy during medieval times was not really monetized and there was paucity of coins, which was probably the reason why cash grants to temple were so limited. But at least during 11th-12th centuries CE, there are innumerable references to different types of coins in epigraphic records, while the literary texts of Mahanubhavas speak of coinage and cash transactions during 13th century CE. Thus, appearance of merchants as patrons of the temples and emergence of large, ornamented and elaborate temples during this period is not surprising.

TEMPLE RITUALS

The grants were made over for the worship of the main deity and maintenance of large temple staff. The details of temple rituals indicate that *angabhoga* or worship and *rangabhoga* or theatrical performance were the main two activities in the temple. The worship was usually performed with water, food offerings, incense, sandal paste, rice grains, lamp, flowers, and perfumes. Occasionally milk and curds were also used. The offering of betel is mentioned specifically in a number of grants. This ritual was performed at least thrice a day and a special ritual was performed on Sundays and on special days. The ritual was accompanied by bell ringing and conch blowing. The perpetual lamp in front of the deity was the most important feature of the worship ritual and there are numerous references to donations of oil or oil mills for this purpose. A special ritual called ‘*guggula puja*’ performed with fragrant gum, *guggula*, has been specified for the Kapalika temple of Kalaleshvara in 7th century CE. This ritual was probably the penance of placing hot or burning *guggula* on one’s head as referred to in *Harshcharita*, which was performed to pacify Mahakala when Harsha’s father fell ill. The *naivedya* or food offerings were special on some occasions. One grant suggests that possibly a distinction was made in the offerings of first three *varnas*. It is quite possible that the Shudras were not allowed to make offerings since the grant specifically mentions three *varnas*. The *rangabhoga* consisted of theatrical performance of music, dance and singing. Some of the inscriptions mention the arrangement made by the donor for the regular services of music and dance in the temple by appointing musicians, drummers, dancers etc and by providing for their maintenance. Interestingly, the reference to such performance occurs as early as 8th century CE. There are occasional references to yearly festivals also. In the Pandharpur grant of 1226 CE, there is a reference to *vari*, a yearly pilgrimage to the Vitthala temple of Pandharpur, which is still followed today.

The rituals in the Jaina temples were not very different from the Brahmanical temples as there are usual references to *ashtanga* worship and also yearly festivals, though there are no references to theatrical performances.

TEMPLE ESTABLISHMENT

The temple usually had a *sattrra* or feeding house and a *matha* or monastery attached to it. The Brahmanas and needy were fed daily in the *sattras* and the *matha* was occupied by ascetics, Brahmanas or visiting scholars. There was also an educational institute attached to the temple, where students were taught various disciplines of religious curriculum. There is a specific reference to *Sarasvati Mandapa* in one of the inscriptions.

The management of the Brahmanical temple was handed over to a Brahmana and that of the Jaina temple to a Muni or Acharya. There is a solitary instance of merchants as the trustees of temple as mentioned in the Anjaneri grant of 710-711 CE where merchant representative of the town of Jayapura were appointed as the supervisors of the temple of Narayana at Jayapura. There was a fleet of other staff consisting of a few priests and various professionals such as blacksmiths, doorkeepers, cowherd, horsemen, goldsmiths, carpenter, barbers, washer-men, fisher-men, farmers, gardeners, untouchables, musicians, dancers, actors and also *devadasis*, apparently for managing the daily affairs of the temple and associated rituals/festivals. Interestingly, Jaina temples also appear to have courtesans attached to them. It has been estimated that in Karnataka, nearly 30 per cent of the population was directly or indirectly connected with the services of temple (Ismail 1984, p. 111). Though a large number of people were employed in the temple services in Maharashtra, the data is too limited and evidence not enough to estimate any such figure.

Apparently there was a set of rules to be followed in managing the temple and Brahmanas in-charge were expected to conduct in certain way. The mismanagement of the temple could be checked by local governing bodies as specifically stated in one of the inscriptions.

RELIGIOUS TRENDS

The largest numbers of temples were dedicated to Shiva, while a few were dedicated to Vishnu and various forms of goddesses. While one of the earliest Kapalika temple existed in Nasik district as early as 7th century CE, Kalamukha and Lakulisha sects were very prominent in southeastern areas during 11th-12th centuries CE. There are a few references to a deity called Mulasthana, which was a form of Shiva. Most of the goddesses were also Shaivite, including the Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur. North Konkan was a prominent centre of goddess worship. Narayana, Lakshmi-Narayana, Keshva and Narasimha were some of the popular forms of Vishnu, while there is a reference to twelve Narayanas and *Jalashayi Anantnarayana*. The worship of Vitthal appears to have been almost confined to Pandharpur as no other centre is mentioned in inscriptions, though contemporary Mahanubhava literature refers to many other centres of Vitthal worship. Buddhism was almost negligible; while Jainism was quite a prominent sect. A handful of Sun temples also existed, mainly in Vidarbha and north Maharashtra. The Sun worship appears to be more popular before 10th century CE and there was only one temple, which was constructed as late as 13th century CE. However, the sect lingered on and there were a few Sun temples during Peshwa temple also. There is a temple of Adityanatha at Nevre in Ratnagiri district, which is the family deity of the Kuntas. According to some documents of the Peshwa period, a Sun temple also existed at Ilane in Ratnagiri taluka of Ratnagiri district, though there is no trace of this temple now (Vartak 1989). There are occasional references to the temples of Ganesh, Kshetrapala, Gramadevata and also Kamadeva, though there is no mention of Skanda or Kartikeya as in the neighbouring regions of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. Similarly, there was no specific grant given to Brahma temple, but it is possible that some of the triple-shrined were meant for Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva and not usual set of Vishnu-Shiva-Goddesses as there are a few specific references to installing icons of Brahma or building a temple of Brahma along with that of Vishnu and Shiva. Some of these triple-shrined temples housed *shivalingas* in all three shrines.

RELIGIOUS CENTRES

It appears that a number of sites and temples, which are prominent centres of pilgrimage today, date back to at least 12th century CE. The sites of goddess cult such as Kolhapur, Ambejogai and Tuljapur were *tirthas* by 13th century CE. Aundha Nagnatha in

Hingoli district was well known for its Nagnatha temple and was considered a *kshetra* by 13th century CE. Ramtek in Nagpur district was also a popular and famous *tirtha*. A 13th century CE inscription from Ramtek gives a detailed account of the temples, *tirthas* and hills of Ramtek. The Mahanubhava literature also frequently mentions Ramagiri as a *tirtha* and a famous place of pilgrimage (Mirashi 1939-40). Sonnalige, suburb of Solapur with its Kapilsiddha Mallikarjuna temple was known as ‘Dakshina Varanasi’. This temple has vanished now. The temple of Svayambhu Somanatha or Someshvara at Karadkehd in Deglur taluka of Nanded district was also a prominent religious site, as this temple received as many as nine grants during late 11th to mid-12th century CE. Similarly, Yeragi, Ardhapur, Kandhar in Nanded district, Savargaon in Osmanabad district, Dharmapuri in Bid district and Tirtha in Solapur district were prominent religious centres, where a large number of temples were built, though are now in ruinous conditions. Paithan also must have been an important religious place. Two of the temples, Someshvar Swami temple and Vijnaneshvara temple, to which donations were given in around 1100 CE and 1178 CE are also referred to in ‘*Lilacharitra*’. Both of these inscriptions are found in extant temples and one of these is actually a Mahanubhav *matha* now. North Konkan was a stronghold of goddess worship as there were temples of Katyayani, Kalika, Mahalakshmi, Dashmi and Jogeshvari. Most of these temples have disappeared, though Jogeshvari still holds a prominent position in Mumbai.

Outside Maharashtra, Prabhas Patan and Dabhoi in Gujarat and Shrishailam in Andhra Pradesh, which hold significance even today, were famous *tirthas*, to which grants were given from Maharashtra too.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Temples dominated the religious life during this period and the numbers of temples were obviously much higher than those apparent from the inscriptions. Innumerable small and large temples and the ruins of icons, pillars and other parts scattered in almost every village in Maharashtra today bear testimony to the fact that a large number of temples were built during medieval period. Moreover, Mahanubhava literature speaks of various temples that existed in different parts. In the town of Riddhipur itself, there were at least seventeen temples. Going on pilgrimage, feeding the Brahmanas and needy, providing for food, shelter and water as well as fire during winter season at important places in cities, getting the Brahmanas married, making arrangements for water and fodder for cattle, digging tanks,

providing for free ferry services, performing various *vratas* etc were some of the religious and merit-gaining activities of mainstream Brahmanical society. But the masses or people at large probably followed a different path. They worshipped numerous folk deities; mostly goddesses called ‘*ai*’ (mother), participated in folk festivals and kept vows for fulfilling their desires. *Vama-marg* or tantric practices were also definitely in vogue. This is the picture that emerges from the Mahanubhava literature. It does not mean that there were definite divisions of the society, as *tirthayatra* and worshipping Shiva as well as other Brahmanical goddesses were also popular with the masses.

SUB-REGIONS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The spatial distribution of temple grants presents a disparate picture with largest grants furnishing from southern and southeastern areas and negligible number of grants from western and central areas. In spite of concentrated works done in some districts, this disparity is striking. Significantly, the areas, which furnish largest temple grants, have very few Brahmana grants. Obviously, it was not just about the more dominant tradition of recording or writing inscriptions in these areas bordering with Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, which apparently have more prominent tradition of inscriptions. Compared with the distribution of *agrahara* creating Brahmana grants, the spatial-temporal distribution of temple grants throws interesting light on the emergence of various sub-regions and contemporary political geography.

There is apparently no correlation between the number of temples built and number of temples that were patronised as recorded in the inscriptions, since the former exceeds the latter considerably. With the exception of Konkan and probably Pune district, a large number of medieval temples are still extant in most parts of the region. So why is that more temples in southern and southeastern areas are represented in the inscriptions and not many of more ornate temples in Nasik, Aurangabad, Ahemadnagar districts or other parts? Interestingly, all the early temple grants up till 10th century CE are from the parts of Vidarbha, northern Maharashtra and northern Konkan and none from southern or southeastern areas. The striking feature is that there are only thirteen Brahmana grants from Kolhapur, Bid and Osmanabad districts and none from Solapur, Sangli, Nanded or Latur districts. The occurrence of as many as 181 temple grants after 10th century CE and almost absence of any Brahmana grants from southern and southeastern areas is a very striking feature.

The pattern that emerges from the study of Brahmana grants during the reigns of Vakatakas to Yadavas, suggests that the areas along the banks of major rivers such as Godavari, Krishna, Nira, Sina, Pravara, Bhima, Varana, Mula, Manjra, Vainganga, Purna & Kanhan in Pune, Ahemadnagar, Aurangabad, Satara, Amaravati, Yeotmal, Akola and Yeotmal districts and also some of the minor rivers such as Painganga, Ghataprabha, Hiranyakeshi in Chandrapur and Kolhapur districts were exploited to create *agraharas*. In fact, the *agraharas* were mainly created in patches near riverbanks in the rain shadow areas along the Western Ghats in Nasik, Ahemadnagar, Pune, Satara, Sangli and Kolhapur districts, which was an attempt at bringing these areas under regular agriculture and into the fold of mainstream Brahmanical society, though not all *agraharas* were located in such areas. Most parts of Pune, Ahemadnagar, Satara and Aurangabad districts are dry with infertile soils and inadequate rains and thus were probably scantily populated. These areas, up to the times of the Marathas were not entirely transformed into nuclear agricultural regions with intensive use of land (Sontheimer 1989). Compared to this, the temples were largely patronised in the southern and southeastern areas of Kolhapur, Solapur, Sangli, Osmanabad, Latur, Bid and Nanded districts, which were probably more intensively populated. Although most parts of Bid-Osmanabad-Latur districts are dry, there are patches of fertile land watered by Manjra River. Similarly, though the western parts of Solapur district are dry, most areas of the district, forming part of lower Bhima valley are agriculturally very productive, with wide riverine plains, insignificant relief and thick black soil. The inadequate rainfall is substantiated by water retentive soil and some rain from northeast monsoon. The most fertile part is formed by river terraces bordering the Bhima River in lower stretches (Dikshit K.R. 1986) and it is this area along eastern bank of Bhima and both the banks of Sina River, around Solapur-Akkalkot, that has furnished largest grants. The Kolhapur and Sangli districts fall into Krishna basin, which, with its innumerable tributaries, rich alluvial soil and adequate water sources is agriculturally the most prosperous area of Maharashtra (Dikshit K. R. 1986). Most temple settlements in Kolhapur district were located in the basin of Varna-Krishna and Panchaganga, near the town of Kolhapur. The Nanded district, falling in middle Godavari basin, has rich soil and good water resources, though the rainfall is moderate (Dikshit K. R. 1986). The temple settlements in this area were located on the banks of Manyad, Lendi and Manjra rivers. Similarly, north Konkan, though agriculturally not so fertile, had been economically quite active and prominent. Consequently, the Brahmanas here were endowed with cash grants/taxes before 10th century CE and eventually temples were patronised by the

northern Shilaharas, resulting in almost equal numbers of Brahmana and temples grants. Though a number of temples emerged in western and central Maharashtra, these areas were not so prominent politically and economically and thus endowments made over to these temples may not have been written down on imperishable material. Significantly, most references to merchant guilds are primarily from southern and southeastern areas, while there are few references to merchants in north Konkan. There is almost absence of any reference to merchants from central and western Maharashtra. It is possible that these areas had pastoral base and was controlled by local officials and feudatories, who may not have been interested in patronising temples. The temples, which flourished in these areas were probably built and patronised by a class of people who did not find it necessary to record their grants on imperishable material.

The *agraharas* were apparently the focus of Brahmanical culture and it is possible that temples eventually evolved at these places. An interesting example is of Bahal on Girna River in Chalisgaon taluka of Jalgaon district. On 24th July 702 CE, a village called Devigrama, situated “two *gavyuta* to the west of Bahalapuri” was given to a Brahmana, whose grandfather was from Tamil Nadu, by the Sendraka king Vairadeva. On 16th July, 809 CE, the village of Bahulvar in Bahula *vishaya* was donated to a Brahmana by the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III. At this place in 1222-23 CE, a temple of goddess Dvaraja or Bhavani was constructed by Anantadeva, the chief astrologer of the Yadava king Singhana II. This temple is still surviving and is now known as the temple of Sarajadevi. The Rashtrakutas created two *agraharas* in the area around Kolhapur in ‘Alataga *vishaya*’, present day Alte, where an undated inscription on a pillar from Ramalinga temple records donation of the income of taxes to Keshava. In 960 CE, village Rukdi near Kolhapur was donated to a Brahmana by the Rashtrakuta king Akalavarshadeva. In 1110 CE, the Shilahara Gandaraditya donated land to the deities Buddha, Mahadeva and Arhat at the same village of Rukdi. These deities were set up by him on the banks of a tank built by him. The abovementioned Rashtrakuta Brahmana grant also mentions village Yerugage (Herle) as the western boundary of Rukdi. By 12th century CE, a Jaina temple had emerged here, which in 1118 CE, was endowed with land and garden by the same Shilahara king, Gandaraditya.

A number of temple sites were on the riverbank or on the confluence of two streams, which could have rendered the place more sacred. Most of these sites appear to have been thriving centres with political-economic and religious significance as indicated by a large

number of contemporary temples and a few inscriptions as well as other remains of later period such as fortifications, houses and palaces. While some of these sites were headquarters of important geographic divisions over a long period, some were capital cities and prosperous towns. Many of the feudatories, officials and kings built tanks, wells and ponds close to the temples. These water works were for the use of temple and devotees flocking the temple, but could also have been used for irrigation. Thus, most temple settlements were on riverbanks and/or with tanks/ponds/wells occupying fertile areas with ample water sources. These settlements might have been instrumental in expansion and intensification of agriculture. Some of the major rivers such as Krishna, Manjra, Sina and Bhima could have also been used for navigation and transport of goods and thus such temple settlements must have been important commercial towns. There were number of temple settlements which were important because of their strategic location. Thus, most of the temple-sites that were patronised were obviously very important settlements. These were either considered more sacred, because of location on rivers, confluences or near hot springs or were prominent urban centre/port/market town, the headquarters of a geographical division or base of officials/feudatories.

Intensive interaction among settlements/villages is apparent. Some of the donated land/garden/houses were as far as 35-36 km away from the site of the temple. Such arrangements were feasible because of constant movements, co-relation and co-operation among the settlements.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Overall, the temple in medieval Maharashtra was an established institution, if not as complex and elaborate as that in medieval Tamil Nadu or Karnataka. It was a multi-functional organisation serving not just as the worship place, but also as an educational institute with a charitable feeding house attached to it. It had large property of movable and immovable assets, which primarily comprised of large tracts of land in surrounding areas, including almost full control over entire villages in some cases and also cash, agricultural products and other commodities. Being such a complex institute it required maintaining a large staff of Brahmana priests and a retinue of other professionals to manage the temple property and carry out various temple activities. In this way, the temple was a major

employment generating, distributive centre that redistributed the economic resources diverted to it. Thus, the temple played an important role in social as well as economic spheres of society of medieval Maharashtra.

The temple building and patronising was a religious act, but for numerous feudatories and officials, who received estates from the kings, it was also a way to emphasise their power and make their presence felt among the common people. With a few exceptions, most of such donations were made within donor's areas of influence and it was important for them to record their religious acts along with the lineage and eulogy of their family. Most of such grants were written on temple parts or on stone slabs that must have been installed in front of the temple for the people to see. The temple building was often accompanied by irrigation works, which must have helped in intensifying the agriculture, bringing more revenues for the donors.

It should be pointed out that some of the above conclusions on the emergence of sub-regions and settlement patterns are yet tentative and need to be corroborated with more intensive multi-dimensional and multi-disciplined study.

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